

“Understanding the Costs and Benefits of Short-term International Volunteerism”

Exploring the benefits and potential harms with regard to short-term international volunteer service in Cape Town.

Luann Mabakoena Hatane

Student Number: SCTLUA001

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Social Science/Philosophy in Development Studies

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

2016

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:


Signed

Date: 8th February 2016

Luann Mabakoena Hatane

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

13 May 2016

SUPERVISOR'S APPROVAL

I confirm that I have seen the final version of Luann Hatane's dissertation with included editorial corrections, as advised by the examiner. I confirm and am satisfied that the editorial corrections have been made on Luann Hatane's dissertation.

 Signed

Supervisor's Signature

13th May 2016

Date

Abstract

An increasing interest in international volunteer service (IVS) has resulted in a large number of companies offering volunteers from developed countries the opportunity to work with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and service organisations in developing countries. Amidst a growing body of research into the impacts and benefits of different IVS models, there remains limited literature available on whether IVS can be harmful. A study, entitled 'AIDS orphan tourism: A threat to young children in residential care' by Richter and Norman has given some prominence to IVS harm in residential child care settings and, in part, motivated this study. This descriptive case study explores how benefits and harm in short-term international volunteer service (STIVS) is understood and experienced by both international volunteers (IVs) and local host organisations (LHOs). The study places emphasis on whether IVs had considered harm prior to starting their IVS, and whether IVs and LHOs shared similar understandings or concerns to those identified in the Richter and Norman study.

A problem-driven framework, drawing on quantitative and qualitative approaches, was used to explore the understanding of harm and benefit by IVs and LHOs. The study adopted a mixed methods approach to obtain data from a variety of sources. Univariate statistics, percentages, thematic and regression analysis were used to analyse the data. Data was collected between the 27th May and the 31st August 2014 in Cape Town, South Africa. Cross-Cultural Solutions South Africa (CCS-SA) provided the study site, with all field work for this study integrated into the regular operational, monitoring and evaluation processes of the CCS-SA programme.

A key finding was that 79% of IVs, on arrival, did not believe that IVS could cause any harm. Only 21% of IVs had an understanding of harm, beyond that of 'creating dependency' in LHOs. Having a degree in the humanities or education field, significantly increased the probability of IVs having an understanding of harm (28%). Being motivated, for selfish reasons, in full or in part, reduced the likelihood of this understanding by 23%. Furthermore, a particular interest in working with children, reduced the likelihood of understanding harm by 31%.

Even though the Cross-Cultural Solutions (CCS) model differed in structure to that described in the Richter and Norman study, the potential to do harm through relationships with children and staff of LHOs remained. Harm in this study proved to be more subtle and less obvious than the psychological impacts, as described in the Richter and Norman study. A key outcome was that the boundary between benefit and harm is more fluid and contextual. Factors with the greatest potential for harm were also those that were, paradoxically, of potential benefit. The findings suggest that for STIVS, benefits and harms are relational and context-specific, interwoven in different ways along a continuum of co-existence. The study supports calls for improved communication and coordination between key stakeholders to manage the co-existence, ongoing tension and the inter-relationship of benefit and harm. The findings of this study provide important considerations, and make valuable recommendations for the development of IVS models, guidelines and regulations.

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank my advisor, Prof. Nicoli Nattrass for her continuous support, guidance and patience. I am very grateful to the Sociology Department at UCT in supporting my enrolment and providing me the opportunity to return to University, twenty years after completing my initial Bachelor of Social Science degree in Social Work.

I extend my sincerest gratitude to Dr Annalu Waller, Sharon Waller, Maggie Newell and the staff at PATA who encouraged, motivated and supported me.

I have to extend my deepest appreciation to my family, Phillip, Bakoena and Neo Hatane. Post graduate studies brought additional and conflicting pressures, on top of full time work demands and household responsibilities. Early mornings, evenings, weekends and leave days were often dedicated to reading, essay or thesis writing at the expense of those I care for most. Whilst lost time and togetherness cannot be recovered, my love and appreciation remains, as always, endless.

A special thanks to Trudy Wagenstroom, a dear friend who motivated me to continue my studies and provided inspiration and guidance along the way. I am ever grateful for friendship and connection. At times when I was overwhelmed and most defeated by this task I was propelled by an extraordinary group of 'soul sistas' who motivated me to push on and offered much needed love, light and laughter.

A special thank you to Farhana Rehman-Furs, Vice President at Cross-Cultural Solutions Inc. who provided me flexibility and support to question and explore alternatives in managing international service engagements during my tenure at Cross-Cultural Solutions.

Finally, my sincere thanks goes to Cross-Cultural Solutions and the international volunteers and local hosting organisations involved with the programme in Cape Town who participated and contributed significantly to this study.

Table of Contents

Chapter		Page
	Title and Declaration	0
	Supervisor Approval	1
	Abstract	2
	Acknowledgment	4
	Acronyms	6
1	Introduction	7
2	Benefits and Harms in short-term International Volunteer Service	13
3	The Study	20
	• Key Concepts	21
	• Methodology	23
	• Data Analysis	27
	Findings and Discussion	32
4	International Volunteers – Motivations, Benefits and Barriers	32
5	International Volunteers – Understanding of Harm	40
6	Local Host Organisations	47
7	Comparisons and Conclusion	55
	• Concluding Summary	62
	References	64
Appendices		
A	Survey Questionnaire and Consent form for Arriving International Volunteers	71
B	The Flower Tool	74
C	Interview schedule and Consent form for Local Host Organisations	75

Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CCS	Cross-Cultural Solutions
CCS-SA	Cross-Cultural Solutions South Africa
CBO	Community based organisation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IVS	International volunteer service
IVs	International volunteers
LHO	Local host organisation
LHOs	Local host organisations
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
STIVS	Short-term international volunteer service
STIVs	Short-term international volunteers
Voluntourist	Volunteer tourist

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study explores the issue of short-term international volunteering, specifically how it is understood as providing benefits as well as potential harm by both volunteers and the service organisations that host them in Cape Town. International volunteer service (IVS) can be defined as an organized period of engagement and contribution to society, facilitated by public or private organizations, by volunteers who work across an international border and who receive little or no monetary compensation (Sherraden, 2001). 'Agencies such as the United States Peace Corps, the United Nations Volunteers and a range of specialised nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) have long promoted volunteering and service learning as part of international development work among a diverse range of servers and receivers in the fields that include poverty reduction, business development, community work, environmental preservation or cultural exchange' (Lewis, 2005, p.13). International volunteering is, however, a rapidly growing phenomenon with a plethora of IVS programmes run by private companies offering volunteers from advanced capitalist countries the opportunity of working with NGOs, service organisations and the like in developing countries. Programmes on offer extend from short-term 'volunteer tourism' type options to longer-term capacity building, skills transfer, cultural exchange and service learning (ibid). The definition of short-term volunteering varies with Lough et al. (2011, p.121), as cited in (Beckers & Sieveking, 2001), suggesting that it is typically understood as occurring for a period of 'eight weeks or less'.

There is a growing body of research interested in understanding the impacts, implications and benefits of varying models of IVS. Increasing attention is being placed on better understanding the central stakeholders in IVS, that is the international volunteers (IVs), the local host organisations (LHOs) and the communities and clients who are recipients or users of volunteer service, as well as the intermediary IVS sending organisation. A key question for this research is the understanding of benefits and harms on the part of IVs and different experiences of benefits and harms between IVs and LHOs in Cape Town.

As discussed in more detail later, the existing literature highlights how benefits and harms differ in nature and degree and that they are contextually determined and subjective to the experience of various stakeholders. More recently, a strong critique has emerged that the

service industry and related organisations that facilitate IVS act irresponsibly in 'promoting the idea that well-meaning visitors can make a real difference to development by spending a short time somewhere' (The Global Citizen, 2015). Beyond the concern that IVS may benefit the volunteer and visitor more than the community or organisation, is the emergence of a far more complex but important question around harm and whether STIVS may in fact, be harmful.

The literature on the potential for IVs to do harm is limited, although the issue has had some prominence in South Africa through academic and newspaper articles by Linda Richter. In a Cape Times newspaper article entitled 'Do gooders can actually do immense harm' Richter (2010, p.13) argues that IVs can do more harm than good. A study by Richter and Norman (2010) addresses harms within an individual, organisational and societal context. The central focus of their argument is that volunteers who become the primary caregiver of children in residential facilities, are more likely to be violating the rights of children rather than protecting them. Emotional harm and distress is argued to be caused through volunteers arriving and leaving, repeating the loss of another attachment and primary care giver. It is suggested that volunteer tour operators exaggerate and sensationalise the impact of Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV) on orphan-hood to deliberately attract the sympathies and interest of IVs for commercial gain. A further concern is that this has led to an increasing number of residential places of care being established to meet a growing demand from the volunteer tourism sector versus that of responding to an established or expressed need for such facilities.

Norman and Richter suggest that instead of being helpful, this can cause harm in so far as it undermines traditional, familial and social safety networks; crowds out local employment opportunities and disregards prevailing wisdom that residential and institutional care models are not in the best interest of children. 'Despite national and international policy, misconceptions surrounding the "AIDS orphan crisis" have led to the assumption that large numbers of children are without family care, fuelling the funding and establishment of residential care homes' (Richter and Norman, 2010, p.220). Richter and Norman go on to frame their critique and situate their concept of harm within a broader discourse of globalisation and differential power relations between the IVs, IVS sending organisations and the ultimate beneficiaries, local communities and vulnerable children.

Volunteers are described as young people from northern countries who wish to combine a desire to offer service with cultural immersion and authentic and meaningful travel experiences. Whilst well intended, it is proposed that IVS mirrors the global discourse in placing young and inexperienced IVs with limited qualifications and skills in a position of power, rendering services to those presented as less fortunate and more vulnerable in the global south. Brown and Hall, define IVS as a neo colonial construction where 'young, ignorant westerners are thought to be in a position to improve the lives and situations of people in the south in a short period of time even when they do not have the relevant qualifications or experience' (2008, p.845). Richter and Norman link the problem also to the way that development needs are framed: 'Globally circulated, the poignant spectre of "AIDS orphans" and "children left behind" portrays children as abandoned, innately vulnerable and in need of care. Such images, presented by the international media, NGOs and now tourism operators, conjure up a desire among those primarily in the Western world to take direct action in the care of such children' (2010, p.223).

Sending organisations have also been criticised for exploiting IVs through charging high fees for 'packages' that pander to the self-interest and the altruistic good intentions of IVs who do not have and are not provided with a comprehensive understanding of the local context and best practises in responding to local challenges such as those pertaining to the Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemic (Richter, 2010). Critical to this argument is that, irrespective of the benefits of IVS, as described by Lewis (2005, p.16) to be 'tangible contributions to development in the form of skills and other resource transfers' and the promotion of 'international understanding and solidarity', in the face of harm and possible 'exploitation of children' as described by Richter (2010, p.13), such benefits hold little or no value. Richter, together with academics and activists in the volunteer sector are recommending that IVS should be considered with caution and be better regulated (ibid).

The attention given to harm by the Richter and Norman study (2010) is important and forms part of a growing body of evidence in IVS research and practise that is highlighting a darker side to the more available and optimistic literature on the benefits of IVS (discussed in more detail in the literature review below). It is against this background that the current research in Cape Town was formulated.

In the interest of transparency, it is important for me to acknowledge that I managed a STIVS programme for the company 'Cross-Cultural Solutions' (CCS) in Cape Town, South Africa. I had often wondered about the different nature and distribution of benefits and harms between the IVs and the LHOs. I have witnessed how small acts of kindness and cross-cultural engagement can bring joy to a child and provide meaningful friendship and connection to local staff, where an extra set of hands, eyes and energy can provide the stimulation of new ideas and precipitate positive shifts in daily routines. I have witnessed attitudes shifting and stereotypes being challenged through learning and exploring the history and culture of the 'other'. Yet, similarly, I have also experienced how weak volunteer management on the part of LHOs or, the misdirected actions, insensitivity, immaturity and naivety on the part of IVs, can be harmful in subtle ways. Opinionated attitudes, assertions of power and advantage by IVs demanding that pre-conceived expectations be met, can reinforce negative stereotypes; can be disrespectful or experienced as such; and can demoralise and undermine local staff initiative. This in turn, becomes disruptive, burdensome and potentially harmful to LHOs.

In the absence of naming, defining and better understanding the presence of harm alongside that of benefit, it would be difficult to mitigate harm and therefore, it is important for IVS enquiry to further explore the intersections of benefit and harm. This is crucial to informing IVS guidelines and management. I am particularly interested in whether the arguments raised in the Richter and Norman (2010) study are comparable and applicable to different IVS scenarios and models. This study explores how benefits and harms in IVS are understood and experienced by both IVs and LHOs in the Cross-Cultural Solutions South Africa (CCS-SA) programme operating in Cape Town. More specifically, I explore whether IVs and LHOs share similar understandings and concerns with regard to IVS as raised by Richter and Norman.

Research was undertaken during the programme's 2014 operational period which extended from the 27th May to the 31st August 2014. The research, which was drawn from my routine monitoring and assessment of IVs, posed two central questions.

The first was the extent to which IVs had any pre-conceived understanding of the potential of IVS to create harm. My working hypothesis was that definitions and understanding of benefits

and harm would vary across individuals and that a good starting point would be to explore the attitudes that IVs brought with them. The key finding was that 79% of IVs, on arrival, did not believe that IVs could cause any harm at all, and only 21% had an understanding of harm beyond that of 'creating dependency' (on IVS) in the LHO. (As discussed further below, the argument that IVS caused harm by making organisations 'dependent' on them was seen as indicative of a patronising attitude on the part of IVs rather than as an indicator of any meaningful or comprehensive understanding of what it means to cause harm). Having a degree in the humanities or education significantly increased the probability of having an understanding of harm that went beyond the paternalistic organisational dependency interpretation, whereas being motivated in full or in part to volunteer for selfish reasons (to travel, to have interesting experiences etc.) significantly reduced the probability of the IV indicating that such harm was possible. Volunteering in the child assistance sector significantly reduced the likelihood that the IV considered it possible to cause harm – a finding that reinforces Richter and Norman's concerns about the dangers of volunteer tourism with children.

The second central question pertained to the nature and different understandings of benefit and harm between the IVs and the LHOs. This aspect of the research was conducted through in-depth interviews with LHOs, and through surveys and group discussions with IVs. A key finding in this regard was that the boundary between benefit and harm is deeply contextual and that some factors with the greatest potential for harm were also those that were, paradoxically, of potential benefit. Notably, the ability to forge good relationships with children and to bring new perspectives to bear on the organisation were also the characteristics of individuals who could do harm through creating a sense of abandonment on the part of children when IVs departed or through the IVs insulting and alienating local staff. This suggests that the concepts of benefit and harm should be understood in relational and context-specific terms.

The Richter and Norman (2010) study inspired this study, but it is important to note that their critique was specific to a particular model of IVS that had IVs centrally placed as primary care givers, living and operating in residential facilities for children. The CCS-SA programme that I worked for concentrated on assisting children in settings that were typically non-residential.

Given that IVs were never the primary care givers of children, the chances of problematic abandonment issues were less likely to arise. Even so, the potential to do harm through the relationship with children and the staff of the LHO remained, albeit on a less significant psychological level. The findings suggest that in the context of this particular short-term model of IVS, the benefits and harms are more subtle and sometimes operate as two sides of the same coin. Benefits and harms appear interwoven in different ways within various models and settings along a rather untidy continuum of co-existence. The nexus of benefit and harm offers an interesting arena for tension and disruption, facilitating opportunities for transformation, growth and progressive change. I am proposing that moving beyond a definitive notion of IVS being either beneficial or harmful is more helpful. In acknowledging the co-existence, ongoing tension and inter-relationship between benefit and harm, they can be better understood, recognised, facilitated and managed within IVS.

Chapter 2: Benefits and Harms in short-term International Volunteer Service

Various studies have explored IV contributions and related benefits with increasing attention being placed on the developmental impact of IVS and how cost benefit ratios apply and accrue differently for providers and beneficiaries to determine whether IVS produces 'win-win' outcomes for all parties involved (Lewis, 2005, p.23). International volunteering for whom, why and to what effect, are central questions that need answering in what Lewis (ibid) regards as an under-researched area. According to Richter, there is growing concern and an emerging critique amongst activists and academics with regard to international volunteering that involves children (2010). Children are the primary beneficiary in many IVS programmes, yet research into the impact on children is limited with Voelkl (2012, p.3) observing that children's 'voices are completely left out' and their participation and representation is notably absent in available research. According to Clemmons (2015) and Birrell (2010), the Richter and Norman (2010) study in *Vulnerable Children & Youth Studies*, entitled 'AIDS orphan tourism: A threat to young children in residential care', has generated academic debate, social media interest and has been a catalyst for activists in the sector to call for reform and more stringent regulatory frameworks.

International volunteer service is a growing phenomenon with varying models emerging that extend from short-term cultural immersion to longer-term development approaches. There are a variety of commercial, educational and non-profit institutions and organisations that facilitate IVS engagement, people-to-exchange, skills transfer, capacity building and cross-cultural engagement (Lewis, 2005). Given the breadth of definition and application of IVS, many questions arise in relation to the implications of IVS and 'what can be learned about evolving local societies and emerging global relationships from a study of international service'(ibid, p.23). As noted earlier, IVS is typically understood as an organized period of engagement and contribution to society, organized by public or private organizations, by volunteers who work across an international border and who receive little or no monetary compensation (Sherraden, 2001). Volunteer tourists are described as 'voluntourists' by Richter and Norman (2010) and the term 'voluntourism' is often used in the literature. Voluntourists are commonly described as 'tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into

aspects of society or environment' (Wearing 2001, p.1). The only distinction between STIVS and 'voluntourism', seems to be by way of definition and whether emphasis is placed on the tourism or the service characteristics of international volunteering.

Sherraden, Lough and McBride (2008) refer to the benefits and value of IVS as understood in the available literature to be providing effective help, development aid, and the provision of services and the transfer of knowledge, skills and technology. Lough et al. refer to positive capacity contributions as 'providing an extra set of hands to address staff shortages, providing tangible resources, philanthropy, and social capital that could assist in the local organisation's sustainability as well as providing new ideas, increasing intercultural competence of staff and clients whilst transferring technical and professional skills' (2011, p.126). Such benefits overlap with benefits to the volunteer's own personal development through that of fostering greater cross-cultural understanding, global awareness, civic engagement, international solidarity and peace building. Sherraden, Lough and McBride (2008) go on to suggest that the strong desire to contribute to peace and well-being is being driven by increased levels of awareness and concern for global inequalities and social ills in the world today.

Devereaux (2008, p.358) suggests that IVS can 'deepen the relational nature of development and the power of solidarity' through emphasising capacity development, reciprocal learning and cultivating respect for local ownership and autonomy. Amartya Sen's approach to development would define IVS in relation to improving conditions and contributing to the development of capabilities (1999). A study that was undertaken by the Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, on capacity building contributions of STIVS at a CCS programme site in Lima Peru, highlighted that LHOs value cultural exchange as the greatest IVS contribution made by IVs (Lough, Sherraden and McBride, 2009). Cultural competency assists in de-stigmatizing preconceived ideas that local community members have of countries from where the volunteers hail, whilst volunteers increase international awareness about the countries where they volunteer, once they return home. Collectively, this potentially leads to greater global awareness and improved cross-cultural understanding (Lough et al., 2011) and may even help to shape what Lewis defines as new thinking to 'humanise' globalisation whilst offering a 'potential and useful counterweight to international tensions and foreign policy challenges, broadening efforts in global justice and development'(2005, p.16). This positioning in the promotion of a 'global cosmopolitan

society' is linked to what Giddens (1999) in Lewis (2005, p.15) refers to as the revival of ideas and practices around civic culture and global citizenship.

The philosophy of Paulo Freire, which highlights the transformative potential for dialogue, is also useful for understanding the potential benefit of IVS and cross-cultural exchange. As Freire noted: 'Some may think that to affirm dialogue—the encounter of women and men in the world in order to transform the world—is naively and subjectively idealistic. There is nothing, however, more real or concrete than people in the world and with the world, than humans with other humans' (1970, p.129). Paulo Freire's pedagogy of self-consciousness, underpinned with deep experiential learning and reflection on class conflict, inequality and cultural diversity, which in turn generates social action and social transformation, provides a particular theoretical framework for IVS (Freire, 1970). According to Diprose, such an approach can 'develop students' critical awareness of their positionality and power in relation to others, as well as historical and structural forces that mediate these relationships' (2012, p.188). This encourages solidarity and reflection on how change can happen with Hanson (2010), as cited in Diprose (2012) describing this 'transformed consciousness' as having an enduring impact on attitudes, values and behaviour.

Notwithstanding the good intentions and potential benefits, IVS has been critiqued by some as wasteful, unethical and potentially harmful because it can be paternalistic, disempowering and burdensome to locals. Daniel Guttentag highlights this as 'a neglect of locals desires, caused by a lack of local involvement; a hindering of work progress and the completion of unsatisfactory work, caused by volunteers' lack of skills; a decrease in employment opportunities and a promotion of dependency, caused by the presence of volunteer labour; a reinforcement of conceptualisations of the other and rationalisations of poverty, caused by the intercultural experience; and an instigation of cultural changes, caused by the demonstration effect and the actions of short-term missionaries' (2009, p.537).

Simpson (2007) argues that IVS reduces 'development' into a simple activity that is taken far too lightly by unskilled, young westerners who have little time to adjust to or understand the country and its culture, even causing offence to local communities. Volunteer tourism may therefore 'privilege the needs and desires of the server over the served, and act as a powerful

framing mechanism for the social construction of ideas about development, poverty and the third world' (Lewis, 2005, p.21; Escobar, 1991). Clemmons (2015) refers to a growing neo-colonial critique where 'voluntourism' and IVS are forms of paternalistic engagement with 'the other'. Mohamud (2013) in an online newspaper debate describes how 'the developing world has become a playground for the redemption of privileged souls looking to atone for global injustices by escaping the vacuity of modernity and globalisation'. Brown and Hall question 'the tacit assumption that even ignorant Westerners can improve the lot of people in the South' (2008, p.845). Palacios (2010) proposes that STIVS programme should therefore not embrace the goal of development aid which elicits a Eurocentric and neo-colonial critique but rather be framed in the context of cross-cultural engagement and learning which can build international awareness and understanding. He argues that promoting awareness, cross-cultural engagement and an understanding of global poverty is not harmful and if framed in this context can be helpful in influencing and informing choices and actions into the future. This links to the Freirian pedagogy described earlier on how increased self-consciousness through exposure, dialogue and self-reflection can be a catalyst for action and transformation.

Amalric (2000), in Lewis (2005, p.15) argues that global changes have in fact weakened international solidarity and would suggest that engagements such as IVS that propose to promote solidarity are in fact led by self-interest and are more individualistic in nature and have little to do with building global solidarity. There is a growing critique that International volunteer missions are narrow market-based development models that serve the interests of the volunteer, providing no challenge or alternative to existing global structural inequalities and arrangements. This perspective would suggest that whilst Freire (1970) provides a potentially supportive theoretical framework for IVS, his philosophy can also accommodate a strong critique of it. International volunteer service, like education, is a political act and IVs who 'authentically commit themselves to the people must re-examine themselves constantly and be willing to rethink their way of life and to examine their own role in the oppression if true liberation is to occur' (Freire, 1970, p.60). Ideally, IVS should not be about 'doing things' or feeling 'sorry' for others but rather supporting and acting in solidarity that they may 'be their own example in the struggle for their redemption' (ibid, p.54).

In addition to outsourcing development practice to volunteers, volunteer service activities become commodities within a niche tourism market that is fuelled by a growing demand from young people who seek out this form of 'tourism with a development agenda' (Vodopivec and Jaffe, 2011, p.111). An increasing interest in packages and options that combine travel and voluntary work have led to a proliferation of companies and service orientated organisations seeking to benefit and compete within a lucrative and growing 'tourism industry' (Richter, 2010, p.13). Callanan and Thomas (2005) argue that international volunteering trip lengths are also decreasing and becoming shorter in order to meet volunteer requests for programmes that offer greater convenience and flexibility. Richter suggests that the market for 'voluntourism' is also being driven by its associated celebrity status and the value given to 'mercy missions' popularised by global film and pop stars (2010, p.13). Jones (2004) also describes career benefits as being a key motivator for IVs who can build their resume through international workplace exposure and experience whilst taking time out of their formal education, training or regular work. Rather than acting in solidarity and being responsive to social, economic and political transformation, it would be argued that IVS is no more than a commodification of altruism under the auspices of development to forward the expansion of self-interest, dominant cultural logic and the economic practices of neoliberalism (Mostafanezhad, 2014).

This demand-driven culture in STIVS is also seen in the disproportionate concentration of services focusing on particular volunteer interest areas and specific target population groups, causing what Simpson (2007) refers to as uneven development and problematizing particular areas over others. Richter (2010) argues that this philanthropic and benevolent response from the global north is influenced more by an exaggerated representation of the AIDS crisis with a central desire by volunteers to make emotional connection to needy and orphaned children. Richter and Norman refer to a growing trend of 'voluntourism' in sub-Saharan Africa as being akin to 'AIDS orphan tourism' where a variety of short-stay programmes allow visiting volunteers to provide immediate and direct care to vulnerable, young children, described by volunteer sending organisations and operators as 'AIDS orphans' (2010, p.218). Richter argues that this is sensational, exaggerating and falsely reporting on the status of children orphaned. The image of the 'AIDS orphan' within the rising trend of volunteer tourism is said to be 'replicated and disseminated deliberately' by sending organisations for economic gain through attracting the sympathies of volunteers who pay to participate

(Meintjies and Giese, 2006, p.425). Meintjies and Giese put forward that the notion of 'vulnerable children' and 'orphanhood' is being transformed into a 'globally circulated commodity' (ibid).

This was further highlighted in an Aljazeera documentary called 'People and Power – Cambodia's Orphan Business' which investigated the concept of 'voluntourism' inadvertently doing more harm than good to Cambodian children (Aljazeera, 2012). Sending organisations are shown to charge high fees whilst contributing a small percentage of this fee to orphanages that, in turn, are sustained from the income received in hosting volunteers. This reliance on income from volunteer sending organisations and access to additional resources from volunteers, directly, is arguably resulting in a perverse incentive to increase the number of orphanages and overlook regulatory controls to meet the immediate needs and desires of volunteers versus protecting and safeguarding children in care. The documentary provided examples of volunteers being permitted to perform skills and undertake responsibilities they had no experience or training in and revealed unrestricted and unsupervised access to children without police checks, rigorous vetting or any prior relationship with the orphanage or children in its care. Children's rights organisations are raising concerns with regards to such practises and are particularly highlighting increased risks associated to child sex offenders utilising volunteer programmes and unregulated facilities to access vulnerable children.

The documentary also illustrates how the lure of donor funds has led to children being unnecessarily removed from their families and, or, deliberately being placed or abandoned in orphanages by families in order to benefit from the cash investments made from volunteer visitors. Richter and Norman (2010, p.222) similarly question the ongoing practise of creating and supporting residential child care models amidst international evidence, theory and practise which shows that such models lead to emotional, social, behavioural and educational problems, impacting negatively on the development of children. Richter and Norman raise particular concern around emotional harm and explain that the 'formation and dissolution of attachment bonds to successive volunteers is likely to be especially damaging to young children' (2010, p.224). In addition, young, unskilled IVs who come for short periods of time and who have limited understanding of the culture, language and context of children in their care may be favoured above employing local youth who are more suitable in reinforcing positive identity and local role modelling (Richter and Norman, 2010).

According to Chilean economist, Max-Neef,

‘Fundamental human needs are finite, few and classifiable and are the same in all cultures and in all historical periods. What changes, both over time and through cultures, is the way or the means by which they are satisfied. This distinction helps to understand the universality and specificity of social groups, grasping cultural change as a matter of altering their satisfiers over time’ (1991, p.18).

In applying Neefs’ theory on human development, IVS may be described as a ‘synergic satisfier’ where the needs or contributions of different stakeholders are interlinked and are simultaneously met (ibid, p.34). In IVS, for example, the contributions of additional capacity, support and service offered by the IV to the LHO may satisfy a given LHO need, whilst at the same time, can also meet a volunteer’s need to give back, do good, travel and engage with different cultures. However, when framed differently as was described by Richter and Norman (2010), IVS can become an extreme violator where the need to provide ‘protection’ to ‘AIDS orphans’ destabilises children’s access to regular, consistent and reliable protection from family whilst satisfying the volunteer’s need for identity, purpose and opportunity. The challenge for research into IVS is to explore which framing is most appropriate to a particular context.

Max Neef (1991, p.34) also refers to ‘endogenous satisfiers’ derived from liberation processors which are the outcome of acts of volition generated by the community at a grassroots level’. This argues that development must be implemented from the bottom up and requires full local participation (ibid, p.76). IVS may satisfy the volunteer’s need and interest in being charitable and helpful whilst becoming a ‘pseudo satisfier’ in undermining grassroots development and self-determination of people in another location (ibid, p.76). However, it is also possible that IVs could participate meaningfully in bottom-up development processes. The benefit and harm relationship is contextual and requires careful empirical research to untangle.

Chapter 3: The Study – Conceptualisation, Key Concepts and Methodology

This study employs a problem-driven approach, drawing on quantitative and qualitative approaches to explore the understanding of harm amongst IVs and LHOs. The study adopts a mixed methods approach to obtain data from a variety of sources, notably: survey questionnaires, interviews, and group meetings. This enabled the ‘triangulation’ of findings (between the survey and group discussions) and the production of a richer analysis that would not have been possible if a single methodology had been adopted. Univariate statistics, percentages, thematic and regression analysis were used to analyse the data and qualitative analysis provided insightful quotes and related commentary. Beyond describing the understanding of IVs and LHOs, the study explored whether there was any correlation between particular IV characteristics and variables in relation to having a meaningful understanding of potential harm in IVS.

As noted in the introduction, the data collection was undertaken whilst in the employ of CCS-SA where I was engaged and centrally involved in an IVS programme. This provided an ethnographic element to the study with myself as the researcher, embedded into the study environment. It also inevitably resulted in some Freire-ian dynamics in that I was a participant and facilitator of group discussions and dialogue, some of which was about harm. Undertaking the study as part of a scheduled programme of activities with myself as the programme coordinator had the great advantage of providing access to all members of a group of short-term international volunteers (STIVs) and the opportunity to observe them in a range of settings and across a (albeit limited) space of time. Through previous work for CCS-SA, I had already forged a long-standing relationship with the LHOs that accepted IVs as volunteers and was expected to undertake visits and assessments to LHOs and I utilised this existing relationship and platform to specifically explore the perceptions and experiences of LHOs with regard to benefits and potential harm. The CCS-SA programme was aware of the study and provided a case study site incorporating my research into the daily operations of the programme. No restrictions were placed on the research by the CCS-SA programme and the research was conducted within the guidelines set by the University of Cape Town’s Research Ethics Procedures. By the time the research was written up, I was no longer employed by CCS-SA as the South Africa programme ended in December 2014.

Key concepts and definitions:

International volunteers in the study were persons above the age 18 years who were keen to travel to South Africa and volunteer in a local organisation free of charge through the facilitation and organisation of Cross-Cultural Solutions, an international organisation that had a South African branch (up until December 2014). This study understands STIVs and 'voluntourists' as being interchangeable in that IVs engage in both volunteering and tourism. This study regards the beneficiaries of IVS as being the IVs themselves and the LHOs they worked with. As noted above, the study site was provided by CCS, an international volunteer sending organisation with whom the IVs were enrolled. CCS provided IVs support prior to their arrival in South Africa and managed the entire marketing, screening and enrolment process. CCS-SA was one of the CCS programmes with an operational site in Cape Town. This offered a contextual framework for IVS and a locally based case study.

The organisation, CCS, provides STIVS opportunities ranging from two to twelve weeks. Volunteers in the study lived communally in a CCS home base and were transported to various LHOs each week day. Volunteers received a two-day in-country orientation after their arrival and were supervised by full-time local staff employed by CCS. IVs paid a fee to cover head-quarter costs and local staffing costs, housing, food, transportation and cultural activities. Between 2007 and 2014, 2,250 IVs served in the CCS-SA programme. Volunteers served four hours each morning, Monday to Friday, for the full duration of their enrolment. Their afternoons were engaged in mandatory cultural learning activities including: language lessons; lectures on key socio-economic issues offered by guest speakers; visits to cultural and historical sites; viewing educational documentaries; and attending group meetings. Over weekends, volunteers were provided free time to organise and enjoy tourist attractions at their own cost and personal arrangement.

The majority of volunteers who enrolled for the CCS-SA programme were from the United States, followed by Canada and the United Kingdom. The programme set no specific eligibility requirements for education, language abilities, or occupational experience and was open to anyone 18 years and older. International volunteers were able to enrol via the CCS headquarters in New York for programmes in Peru, Costa Rica, Brazil, India, Thailand, Ghana, Morocco, Tanzania and South Africa. The programme in South Africa ranged from two week

engagements to longer term IVS or internship programmes that extended to a maximum of twelve weeks (Cross-Cultural Solutions, 2012).

By working in the various LHOs, IVs came into contact with staff working at LHOs, local volunteers, and clients and community members who were accessing and or engaging with the LHOs services. Local host organisations were typically non-governmental and community based organisations as well as government service establishments. Each had an established memorandum of agreement with CCS-SA to host IVs and provide a volunteer service site within established terms and conditions. Local host organisations who had a partnership agreement with CCS-SA included primary schools, pre-schools and early learning centres, women's shelters, hospital benevolent societies, special day care centres for children with learning and or physical disability as well as residential and community centres that provide an array of HIV care and support services. Volunteer sites were located in in the greater Cape Town, including the areas of Observatory, Athlone, Langa, Gugulethu, Nyanga and Khayelitsha. Local organisations received no financial remuneration for hosting international volunteers from CCS-SA (Cross-Cultural Solutions, 2012).

This study did not define the terms benefits and harms for study participants, leaving them open ended for study participants to provide their own descriptions and definitions. The study was interested in whether IVs and LHOs shared similar understandings and concerns as those raised by Richter and Norman (2010). As discussed previously, Richer and Norman focussed on the costs of IVS, but they acknowledged that benefits also (at least potentially) accrued in the form of philanthropic service, humanitarian and charitable assistance. This is similar to what Cross-Cultural Solutions (2010) defines as bringing people together to share perspectives, understanding and foster greater cross-cultural appreciation. Caprara, Quigley and Rieffel (2009, p.1) understand IVS to be 'a smart way to build bridges'. The concept of 'benefit' in this study was broadly operationalised to include: any help, the provision of added-value, and any form of assessment or perception of IVs or LHO staff that IVs had made a positive contribution. Making a positive contribution ranged from 'helpful activities' (broadly defined), to facilitating new learning and practices as well as cross-cultural engagement. As discussed earlier, Richter and Norman (2010) focussed their analysis of harm primarily on emotional harm caused for children as well as perpetuating residential and institutional models of child care. In this study harm was operationalised in a more open-

ended way to allow IVs and LHOs to express their understanding of the potential for IVs to cause harm in this particular context of STIVS.

Key contacts and respondents at LHOs were interviewed as part of the study. These were typically the head of the LHO or the senior staff member mandated to manage volunteers.

The study took place during the 2014 operational programme period of CCS-SA which extended from the 27th May to the 31st August 2014 and is referred to as the operational period.

Methodology:

A qualitative descriptive research methodology was central to the research. According to Neuman (1997), qualitative research provides a rich colourful description of what is being studied. Qualitative research adopts a person-centred approach and a holistic perspective in understanding people's opinions about their lives and the lives of others (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996, p.8). This study has provided for a more detailed account of the understanding, experiences and concerns held by LHO staff and IVs enrolled in the CCS programme and was used to enrich the findings from the quantitative survey.

The study utilised mixed data sources, incorporating survey questionnaires, interviews, and group meetings and applied quantitative techniques and descriptive statistics to organize and describe information in a meaningful way. According to Ge and Land, a mixed methods approach 'helps a researcher to seek a triangulation of the results from different data sources; examine overlapping and different facets of a phenomenon; discover paradoxes, contradictions, and fresh perspectives; and expand the scope and breadth of a study' (2003, p.25). Univariate statistics, percentages, thematic and regression analysis were used to analyse the data.

Data was collected from key contact staff at LHOs and all IVs enrolled within the programme during its operational period. The questionnaire was a 'census' of this group, rather than a sample of it. The data was thus fully representative of this particular cohort of volunteers. It is probably broadly representative of short-term volunteers attracted to CCS programmes

from North America, but this cannot be known for certain as the volunteer demographic may vary during the year.

Local host organisations were also chosen purposively for the study according to the selection criterion of having to have hosted at least one volunteer during the operational period and for a minimum period of six to a maximum period of twelve weeks. This ensured that each of the LHOs which participated in the study had experienced one volunteer for a continuous period of time whilst the volunteer period remained within the definition of short-term.

Local host organisations interviewed, provided a wide range of community services: educare services, foster and residential care centres for vulnerable children, psychiatric health, and HIV community based care and outreach and special needs care for children with physical disability and learning difficulty. The range of LHOs interviewed primarily served children with only one of the LHOs sampled serving adults.

The study utilised a number of research tools, the first of which was a questionnaire in the form of a survey. The survey questionnaire elicited personal details of the IVs to establish a general IV profile and gathered information on their motivation to volunteer and their understanding, experiences and concerns around benefits and harms through a range of closed and open questions. The survey questionnaire was sent to the research supervisor prior to the start of the study whose recommendations were integrated into the final questionnaire used for the study (see Appendix A, Survey Questionnaire, p.71). No changes were made to the survey during the research phase of the study. On arrival, the 48 IVs completed this self-administered survey questionnaire as part of their orientation meeting. The distribution and completion of the 48 self-administered surveys was spread over the CCS operational period and took place on five pre-determined arrival, orientation and group meeting dates.

The second research tool was recording and transcribing all volunteer group meetings during the first six weeks of the CCS-SA operational period. Following orientation, a series of feedback meetings took place: the first, immediately after the IVs first day of volunteering at their designated LHO, and the second, two weeks later. This cycle of meetings was repeated fortnightly. Transcripts of the first four meetings were included for the research. Programme

meetings provided volunteers with a supported and facilitated space to debrief and reflect on their experiences, challenges and learning. The group meetings offered an opportunity for volunteers to share and support one another in developing new strategies to strengthen their service and deepen their overall IVS learning experience. The dialogue and engagement between volunteers at these meetings provided additional descriptive data for the research. As part of the second feedback meeting, and once volunteers had spent a minimum of two weeks at their LHO, they began to work on a 'flower tool'. This tool was not designed for the research, but formed part of regular CCS-SA feedback meetings and provided IVs individual quiet time to reflect and record their thoughts utilising the 'flower tool' (see Appendix B, Flower tool, p.74). The flower tool was helpful in meetings as a prompt to initiate thinking and reflection before volunteers were asked to share amongst the wider group. The tool did not elicit direct responses pertaining to the issue of benefit and harm and was therefore of minor benefit to the main thrust of the study. The flower tool encouraged discussion within the group, and provided additional descriptive information and narrative examples from the volunteers' perspective: personal benefits and benefits accrued to the LHO where they served. This also captured their key highlights, take home messages and challenges experienced. Feedback meetings were part of the usual programme structure and followed a required CCS format but, as the facilitator, I was able to ask additional prompting questions and elicit deeper dialogue around the concept of benefit and harm, as and when it arose in the group discussion.

A small focus group meeting was held with three of the longest enrolled volunteers at the end of the CCS-SA operational period to discuss their considerations on benefit and harm. Given their twelve week enrolment, their interaction with and exposure to the arrival and departure of 45 other IVs, it was felt that they could provide more critical reflections. The small focus group discussion was led by a simple question guide that elicited feedback and requested that the IVs share examples of how they understood, witnessed or experienced benefit and harm during their longer-term enrolment. The participating volunteers in the group were social work interns and, as their designated field supervisor, I was required to facilitate discussion and critical reflection around IVS and international field work.

The final tool was five, semi-structured, interviews guided by an interview schedule (see Appendix C, p.75) that were conducted with selected LHO key contacts. The respondents (key informants) were provided with a brief introduction, explanation and a consent form to read, agree to and sign. All five, arranged interviews were conducted by myself. All those interviewed held a central volunteer coordination role and were the key CCS-SA contact at the LHO. Two directors and three programme managers were interviewed. All staff interviewed had direct contact and central involvement with CCS-SA volunteers and had prior knowledge and experience of the CCS-SA programme. All staff interviewed had an established working relationship with me and they anticipated having regular planning or evaluation meetings with me, regarding the programme. All interviews were conducted in English. The interview schedule was piloted during the first interview, no discrepancies or inconsistencies emerged with no subsequent changes being made to the interview questions. During each interview, I was able to make short hand notes against the interview template which contained similar questions to those in the survey questionnaire provided to IVs. All interviews were recorded and transcribed using the recordings and short hand notes. Face to face interviews were helpful in allowing greater flexibility in managing the interview, using additional probes or lines of inquiry where needed. This allowed me to be more responsive to the respondents' views and to varying contexts.

As mentioned before, my research was integrated into the normal operational, monitoring and evaluation aspects of the CCS-SA programme. Programme data and reflective feedback, as well as evaluation surveys, meetings and reflective exercises, were a regular and expected part of the programme. As data would be used as part of my research and in the interests of transparency, I informed all arriving volunteers during their first orientation meeting about the study. Consent forms, questionnaires and survey tools were explained and provided. Even though volunteers understood such tools to be part of the programme experience, it was important to obtain informed consent as meetings were tape recorded and data would be utilised for the purpose of my study and regular documentation for CCS-SA. Consent was obtained from all volunteers enrolled in the CCS-SA programme during the research study. Whilst LHO staff expected evaluation meetings and were familiar with sharing their experience of hosting an IV, informed consent was similarly obtained.

Data analysis:

The quantitative analysis was conducted using MS Excel and included descriptive statistics (means and percentages) and simple regression analysis. All qualitative analysis was done through thematic analysis using the Miles and Huberman framework (2014). According to Miles, Huberman and & Saldaña, 'qualitative data analysis is a continuous, interactive enterprise. Issues of data condensation, display, and conclusion drawing/verification come into play successively as analysis episodes follow each other' (ibid, p.39). This study undertook data condensation of 48 survey questionnaires and 5 LHO interviews. Data was summarised through descriptive statistics after the data and information had been thematically coded through categorisation and sub categorisation. The analysis of the survey questionnaires and interviews was written up and presented in tables, charts and regression printouts. Narrative descriptions from survey questionnaires, interviews and meeting transcripts have been incorporated to offer a variety of examples and quotations to provide greater depth and description of the analysed data.

All data collected was placed in one 'working' document and Excel file. The data from the different tools (survey questionnaires, flower tools, interviews, meetings and small focus group) were entered or transcribed into different Excel sheets in one working Excel file. All electronic data was saved on my personal laptop and password protected. All original tape recordings of meetings were saved in a separate electronic backup file and all paper hard copies were stored securely during and after the data were entered.

An Excel matrix was created to enter all the data from the completed questionnaires. 'Excel is most useful for building simple matrices and especially for holding qualitative survey data and taking quantitative data through selected statistical calculations and tests—a boon for mixed-methods studies' (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014, p.71). The Excel matrix entered all the questions as asked in the survey and were displayed horizontally across the spreadsheet with each question entered into a new cell. The responses to each of the survey questions were entered vertically below each of the corresponding questions. Each of the completed questionnaires was coded, chronologically, according to the number of questionnaires completed within each of the five groups' arrival dates during the operational period. For example 1.3 represented questionnaire three completed from the first arriving

group. These codes were entered into the Excel matrix to correspond with each of the completed questionnaires.

After entering the initial data verbatim into each of the cells, further data condensation was required as the matrix began to fill up and information needed to be further broken down. This extended from a yes or no response, to a closed question, to that of categorising and subcategorising responses, to open ended questions. This process was sequential and led to additional columns being added as required. Themes were generated under the two key areas of benefit and harm. Under these two central themes, sub themes were determined by categorising responses to the first ten questionnaires. A new column was created for every different category, theme or word that was highlighted within the first ten verbatim responses to each open question. Thereafter, categories that were similar were merged and prioritised into new columns and recoded, further reducing the information. Completed questionnaire responses were entered after each arriving group's orientation meeting. As groups arrived on five different interval dates, changes were made throughout the research phase with additional columns being created, re-coded or collapsed as new information emerged. Responses to questions that were misunderstood or did not correspond to the question being asked were excluded. When coding variables attached to describing potential harms, an additional variable was created to distinguish between having a comprehensive understanding of harm, versus a limited understanding that described harm paternalistically in a singular definition of IVS creating a dependence on volunteers. As discussed below, a more complex and comprehensive description of harm, beyond that of dependency, allowed for the inclusion of a more reliable and dependent variable of IVs having an understanding of potential harms in IVS.

Coding assisted to organize the survey data and identify patterns and commonalities amongst IVs on their understanding of benefits and harms in IVS. Descriptive statistics were then used to help describe the data and highlight patterns. Defining characteristics such as, age, gender, country of origin and qualification, as well as all thematic categories created under the open-ended questions, were then used as single variables in identified columns in the matrix. Univariate analysis was then applied with a score of one given under each variable as and when it applied to a corresponding response. Utilising basic Excel functions, univariate

statistics, percentages and means were then calculated to present the frequency of different variables against each response to a question in the matrix.

As a dependent variable had been established on the understanding of the potential of IVs to create harm, I was interested in establishing whether there was any relationship between this dependent variable and any of the volunteer profile characteristics and variables. Volunteer profile characteristics were defined as: age, area of study, qualification, motivation and area of volunteer interest. In order to do this an Excel regression analysis was applied to explore whether any of the IV profile variables had a significant influence on the dependent variable whilst controlling for other relevant variables.

The analysis of LHO interviews was done through creating a similar matrix to that developed for the survey questionnaires, as many of the questions were similar. Data entered into the matrix were taken from highlighted sections in each of the interview transcripts. Words, phrases and sentences were colour coded and highlighted according to benefits and harms and were categorised under each of the open questions and were verified against the shorthand notes made during interviews on the prepared interview schedule. Simple Excel functions were then used to create univariate statistics and percentages. The flower tool that was administered during feedback meetings was analysed in the same way as the survey questionnaire and utilised the same matrix structure. The flower tool provided additional descriptive data and therefore only thematic analysis was applied.

Volunteer feedback meetings and the small focus group meeting transcripts also highlighted key words and phrases which were then cut-and-pasted together as a form of 'instantaneous categorization' (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014, p.76) and then further broken down into smaller sub-sets and coded similarly to the variables in the already completed survey questionnaires. These narrative examples were then organised with corresponding variables of benefits and harms that emerged in the survey questionnaire.

Throughout the analysis, differences, similarities and patterns were clustered into a logical format so that identified themes could be compared within and between each of the IV and LHO sample populations. As the process involved capturing and analysing data from various

data sources, it involved what Patton refers to as engaging in 'mental excursions using multiple stimuli, side-tracking or zigzagging to make linkages and connections' (2002, p.514).

To pre-empt any reactivity in the respondents feeling obliged to respond to what they thought I would want to hear as the researcher, and, or what they felt would be most desirable for CCS, I sought to overcome this by providing a clear introduction during all the IV orientation sessions and at the outset of all LHO interviews. Assurance was provided that the study was for my partial fulfilment of a Master degree at the University of Cape Town with an expressed additional purpose of informing IVS practise. I emphasized and stressed the importance of honest and impartial feedback for the studies validity and integrity and assured the respondents anonymity in any written documentation.

In terms of ethics, all surveys, in-depth interviews and discussion groups were undertaken with enrolled IVs or existing staff and key contacts at LHOs, all who provided informed consent and were eighteen years or older. I did not envisage any infringement or violation of the respondents' rights, as they were over 18, had signed an existing waiver and release form in their enrolment with CCS and were not clients or beneficiaries of the LHOs who participated in the study. Direct beneficiaries and clients of the LHO would have required more careful consideration given their direct relationship to the LHO and the related rights to privacy and confidentiality. All the respondents in the study had an existing relationship to CCS and myself, as a representative of CCS in Cape Town. The study was integrated into ongoing operational programming aspects of CCS where regular reflective group meetings and evaluation of the programme is required, anticipated and expected. The study did not interfere with and or change any of the regular scheduled activities, but rather integrated the study tools into pre-planned orientation and group feedback meetings with the IVs and the regular monthly visits undertaken with LHOs. Volunteers were provided voluntary opt out options in participating during their orientation programme. Key staff at LHOs were requested to participate after being provided a description of the study in advance via email or telephone. Key staff and LHOs were provided assurance that their participation or choice not to participate would have no impact on the existing relationship and memorandum of agreement with CCS. Given that I have shared an established and trusted relationship with the key staff at LHOs over a number of years, it was anticipated that LHO key staff would be willing to participate and provide open and honest feedback. My research supervisor and I

discussed ethical aspects of the research as it evolved over time. Such process of ongoing reflection and discussion is central to the research ethics protocol of the Humanities Faculty at the University of Cape Town.

Findings and Discussion

Chapter 4: International Volunteers – Motivations, Benefits and Barriers

The general characteristics and profile of the 48 CCS-SA IVs surveyed for the study show that more than half were students under the age of twenty one years, 90% were female and came from America for an average of 4 weeks.

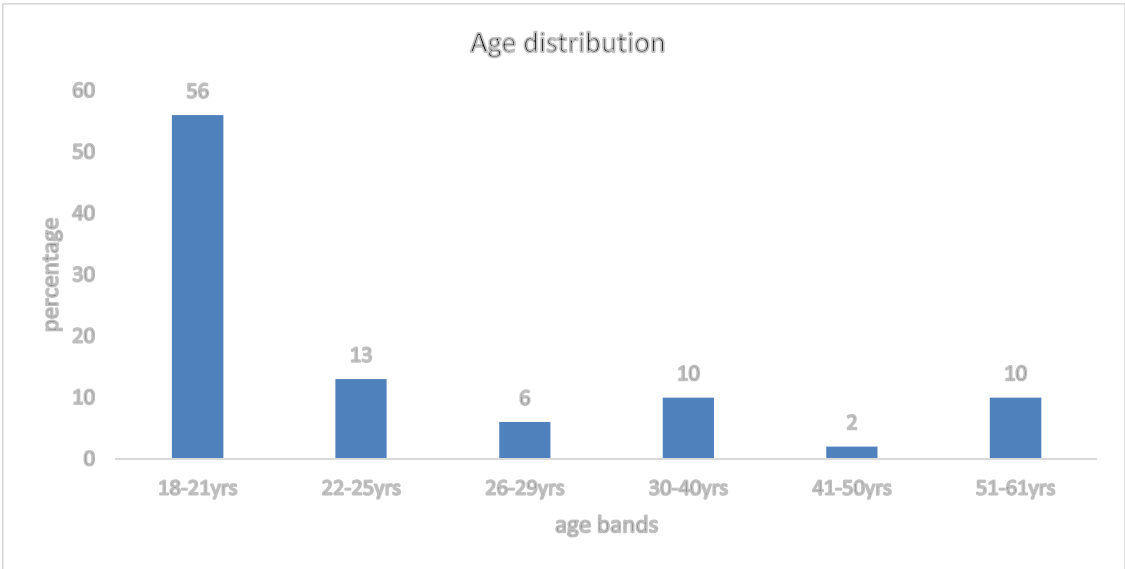


Chart. 1: Age distribution of the IVs

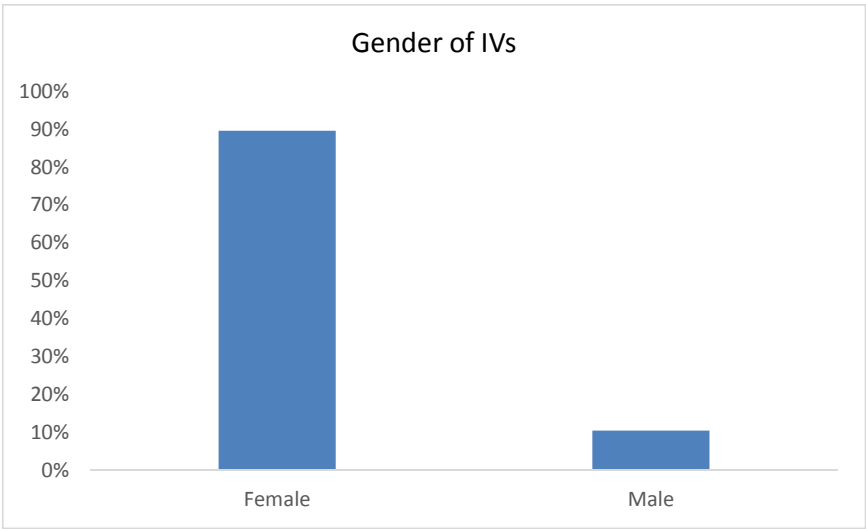


Chart. 2: Gender split between the IVs

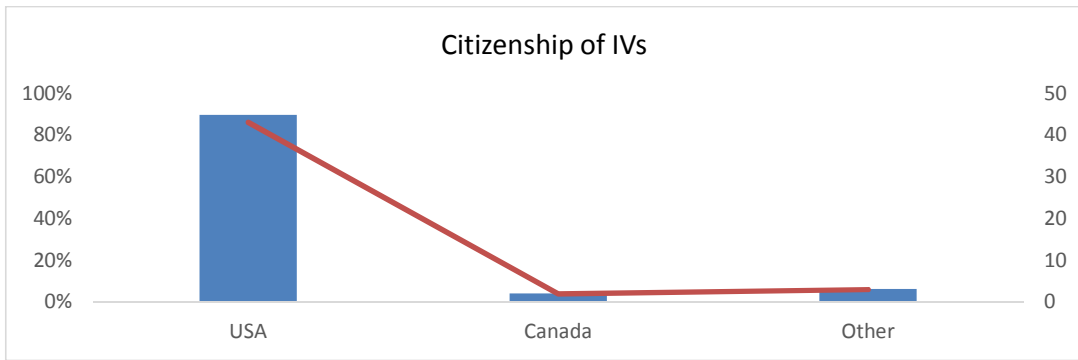


Chart. 3: Citizenship of IVs

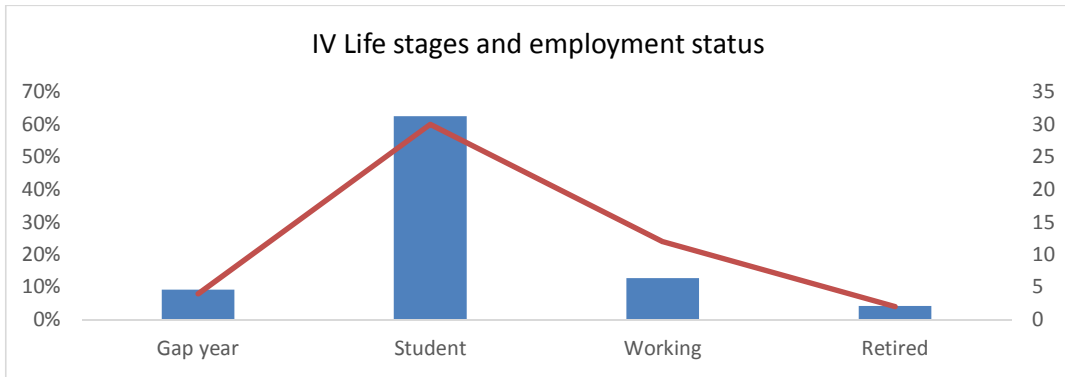


Chart. 4: Life stage and employment status amongst IVs

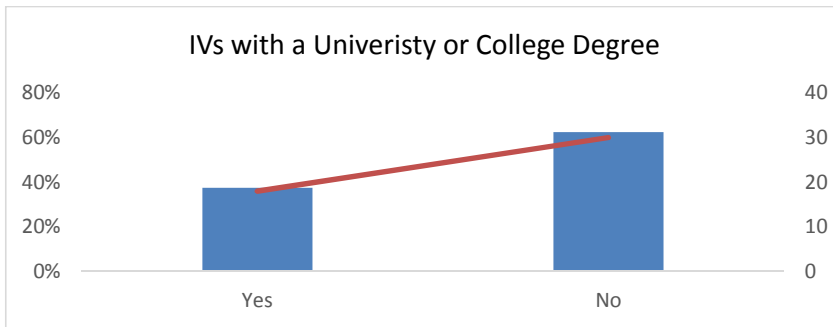


Chart. 5: Degree status of IVs

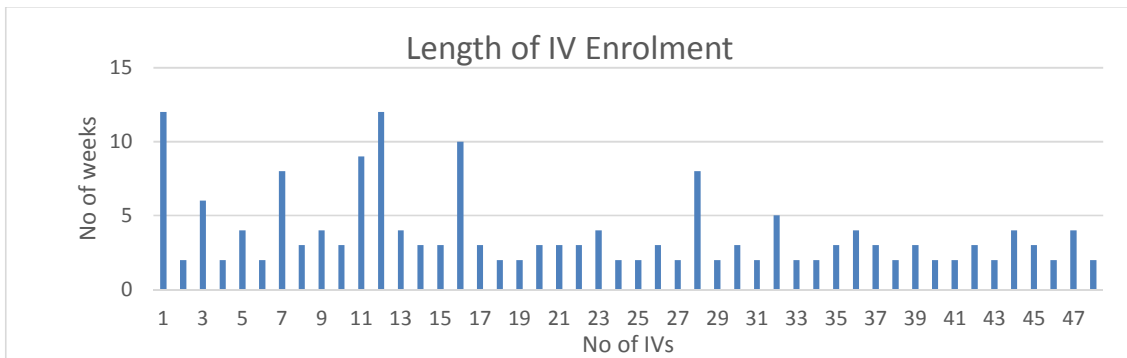


Chart. 6: Length of enrolment

Whilst the general demographic of the IVs sampled provided similar trends in age, citizenship, life stage and gender, it recognises that a number of IVs fell outside these general characteristics. The IVs in the study reflected similar demographic characteristics to that which Richter and Norman described as a group of ‘young people from the north wanting to offer service in the global south whilst also experience authentic and meaningful travel and cultural immersion’ (2010, p.220). International volunteers were mostly young students who, as described by Richter and Norman, were making ‘contributions’ that were ‘brief’ and ‘low skilled’ within a short period of time (ibid, p.223). Whilst IVs in the study were not living and or involved as primary care givers in orphanages or residential facilities as described by Richter and Norman, more than 90% were placed in organisations working with children and had direct contact with children during their daily service period. So, whilst this case study represents a different model, the same questions and concerns raised within the Richter and Norman study around IVS and children applied and underpinned my central questions on whether IVs had considered or had an understanding of potential harms on arrival and how their understanding of IVS benefits and harms compared to those held by LHOs.

Motivations and understanding of benefits:

The desire for mixing service, travel, culture and gaining world view experience and personal growth emerged strongly within the study. Fifteen percent of the IVs highlighted service, volunteerism and community benefit such as: *‘working alongside people and developing positive relations for the benefit of communities and individuals’* or that of *‘being of service and helping others’* as being their only motivator. The majority of IVs provided a combination of motivators that included cultural engagement descriptors such as, *‘see and experience a new culture and have a better understanding of the world’*, and self-interest motivators. Self-interest motivators ranged from travel, such as: *‘offers an exotic location I have never seen’*, to personal growth, interest or curiosity motivations, for example: *‘I need inspiration, needed to help others, Africa is very musical, and it felt right’* to that of *‘I just wanted to do it’*. Sharing skills or knowledge, as in: *‘to spread my knowledge and give back’* or that of advancing studies or career options, such as: *‘I want to get into the Peace Corps’* were also defined. An additional column was created and scored against each response where an overt selfish descriptor word had been highlighted, for example: *‘I want to travel, I want to learn and follow my desire’* to

that of wanting to have a particular experience or explore a particular interest. A 67% majority of IVs demonstrated overtly selfish motivations in wanting to volunteer internationally.

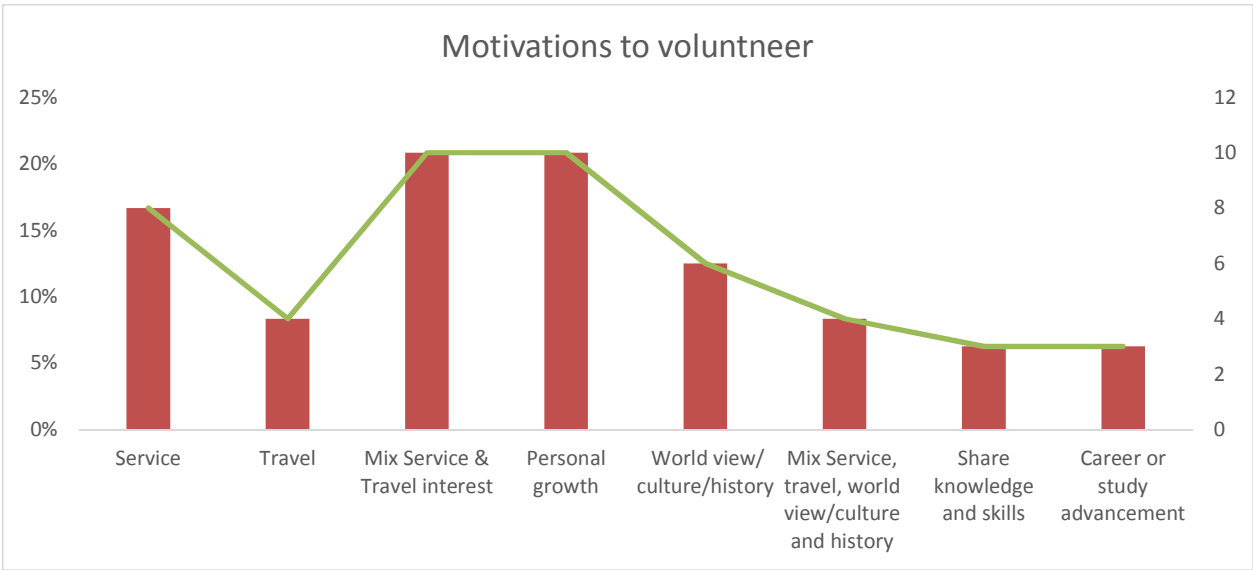


Chart. 7: Motivations for international volunteer service

Similarities in what motivated enrolment into IVS to what IVs then described as personal benefits gained from IVS was expected, with an anticipation that personal benefits would relate to personal growth and be overtly selfish.

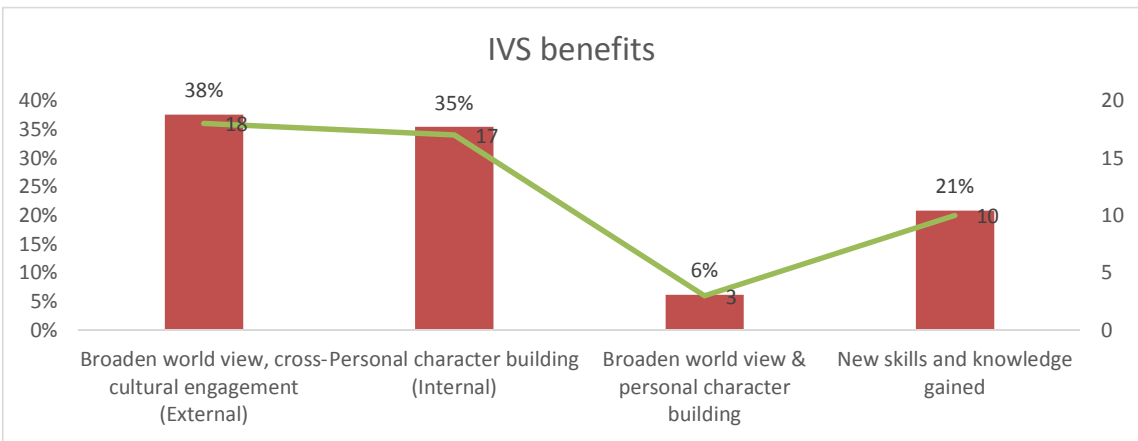


Chart. 8: Benefits to IVS

In analysing personal benefits and personal growth variables, responses were differentiated between those demonstrating an external world view and broader perspective such as: *'I'll become a more culturally sensitive and knowledgeable member of society'* or *'I will grow*

because I will learn about other languages, culture and Cape Town and will learn things to take back to the United States’ from those that reflected an internal and individualized perspective. Individualized views were more character building in nature, such as: ‘will evolve me as a person’ or ‘it will transform my heart into a godlier woman’ to that of ‘it will provide me with growth, be strengthening and humbling’. Six percent of the IVs described personal benefit as being a mix of both these external and internal personal growth variables, for example: ‘I will be a better well-rounded individual, learning and experiencing a new culture that is different from my own’. A number of IVs also described benefits in relation to gaining and learning new skills for example: ‘learning new people skills’ and ‘learning greater patience and humility’.

Personal benefits were also recorded in the flower tool which was conducted after a minimum of two weeks of IVS and reflected similar responses to those that were given during orientation in the survey questionnaires with the exception of a new additional benefit, described as relationship and friendship building. Service and travel was also mentioned more in the flower tool than on arrival.

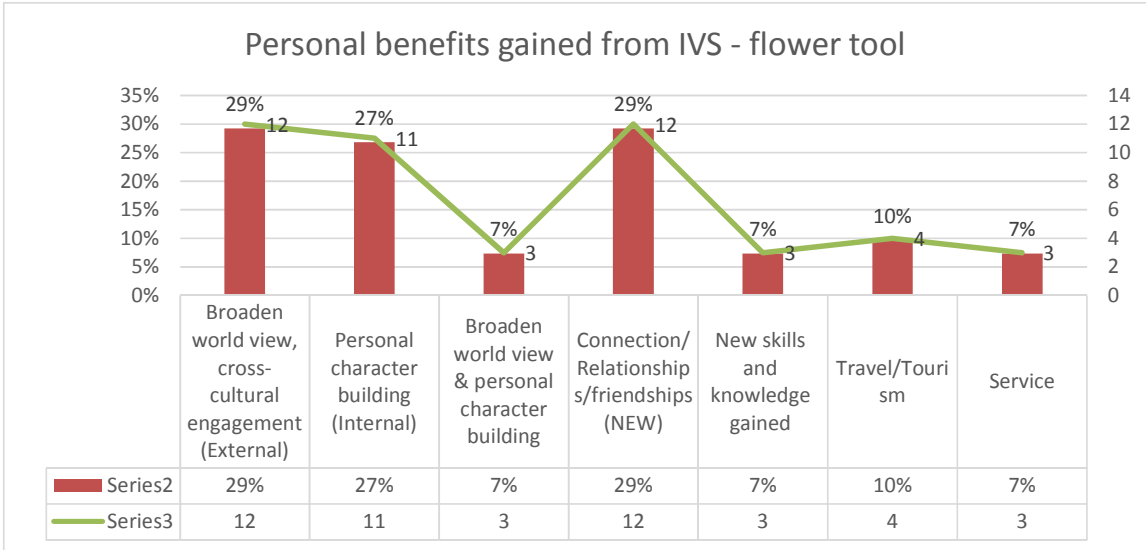


Chart. 9: Personal benefits gained from IVS – flower tool

The development of new friendships amongst the group of volunteers emerged strongly as a new and significant benefit mentioned in the flower tool, which volunteers had not anticipated on arrival. The sense of camaraderie and connection through living and undertaking service together in another country was shown to be a dynamic experience. An

impact assessment undertaken by Cross-Cultural Solutions (2010) showed that IVs maintained contact after their programme and that many established long lasting friendships through the IVS experience and reported continual group reunions many years after completing their IVS with CCS.

Additional personal benefits described in the small focus group and feedback meeting were described as follows:

'When people know that there is someone there to support them, provide encouragement and provide a positive experience for kids I feel good';

'Getting to know different staff and people from a different culture, country and community';

'I came here with my own tragic story and just getting to understand other people's realities and daily challenges, hearing other stories really put things into perspective';

'Learnt about the importance of acts of kindness, especially for people with mental illness, learnt greater humility and respect and reminded me of the support of family and friends';

'Understanding how blessed we are, makes me feel blessed. So many of these children don't have the bare necessities, it is hard to comprehend, it is an eye opener'.

When IVs considered what benefit IVS held for LHOs who were the beneficiaries of their service, most defined some form of helpful assistance with 26% of the IVs mentioning the word help in their responses, such as: *'helping in whatever's needed'* and *'being a helping hand'* etc. The remaining responses described the benefit and helpfulness of their service which was broken down and scored against descriptors, such as: providing enthusiasm and entertainment, as in: *'laughter and enthusiasm'* or *'playing games with them'* to sharing skills and knowledge, such as: *'teaching'* kids something or *'giving new creative ideas'*. Giving attention, love and care to children was also mentioned in various forms and was more emotive in description, for example: *'being a loving presence'* and *'providing more care to vulnerable children'* to that of *'giving myself, my love, time and empathy'*. Some described ways they would share information and expose LHO beneficiaries to a different culture as in: *'providing a connection across the globe'* or *'introduce and expose children to American culture'* and *'bring greater diversity to the organisation'*. A few volunteers also mentioned

supporting local staff through: *‘being and extra set of hands’* or *‘offering local staff additional help’*.

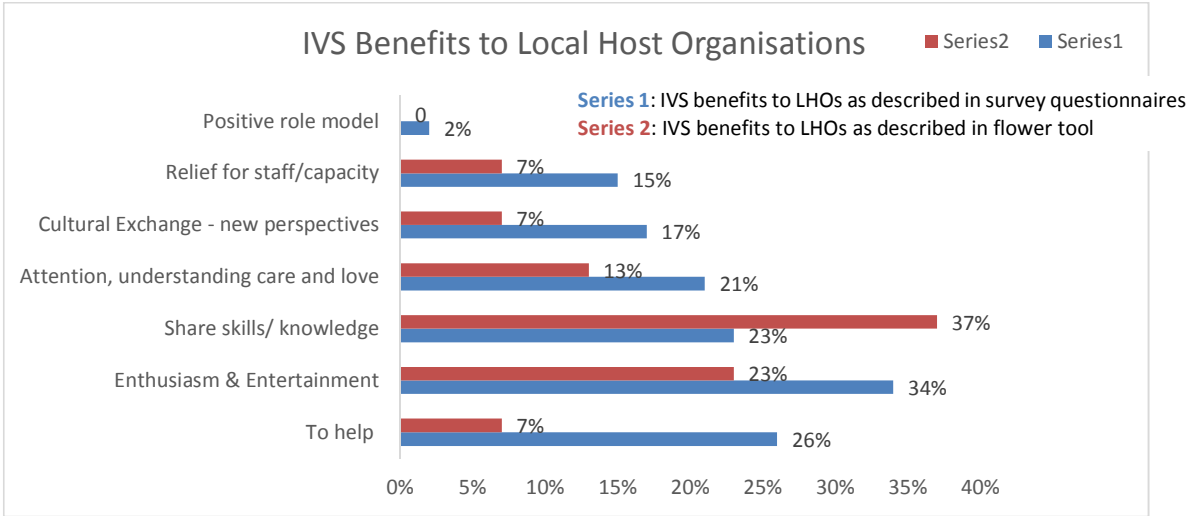


Chart. 10: IVS benefits to LHOs

The above chart displays changes in how IVs described benefits to LHOs on arrival in their survey questionnaires (series 1) compared to responses to a similar question asked in the flower tool (series 2) conducted after they had been enrolled and active in the programme. Whilst the general categories and trends in the IVs responses remained the same, there were some distinct shifts. Less than half the volunteers, who had initially mentioned the word help, cross-cultural engagement and staff relief, did so again in the flower tool. The majority of IVs in their feedback on the flower tool reported that the greatest benefit of IVS was that of sharing skills and knowledge. This was different to providing enthusiasm and entertainment which most mentioned on arrival in the survey questionnaires. The description and understanding of benefits offered to LHOs across the various tools elicited multiple descriptions, such as:

‘Kids met new people and had somebody to play with’;

‘Helped out, made kids smile and laugh’;

‘New ideas to organise classes, news songs, little projects for kids’;

‘Gave confidence, creative enthusiasm, and encouragement to kids to believe in themselves’.

When asked who benefitted most in the IVS relationship, 85% of IVs reported that both the LHO and IV benefitted, in that: *‘the local host organisation gets help and I can learn about my culture, and different ways of doing things but I can also learn so much about them and their culture from volunteering which will make me appreciate things more’*. Fifteen percent stated that the volunteer benefitted more than the LHO as *‘for the volunteer it is a one-time event, whereas the organisation may have many volunteers coming in and out, plus they continue to work within their reality with or without volunteers’*. None of the IVs believed that LHOs benefitted the most.

Challenges and barriers:

Fifty percent of the IVs reflected in their flower tool that language and cultural barriers were difficult, with some IVs feeling overwhelmed by the socio-economic conditions faced by clients and children, as well as the limited resources on hand at their LHO and referred to *‘differences in language and learning pace, and not understanding the extent of the issues’*. Quite a few IVs referred to feeling *‘alone and homesick’* with some also not feeling *‘welcomed at their placement’*. Living together in one house also had its challenges with many reporting that home base dynamics and group living was difficult at times.

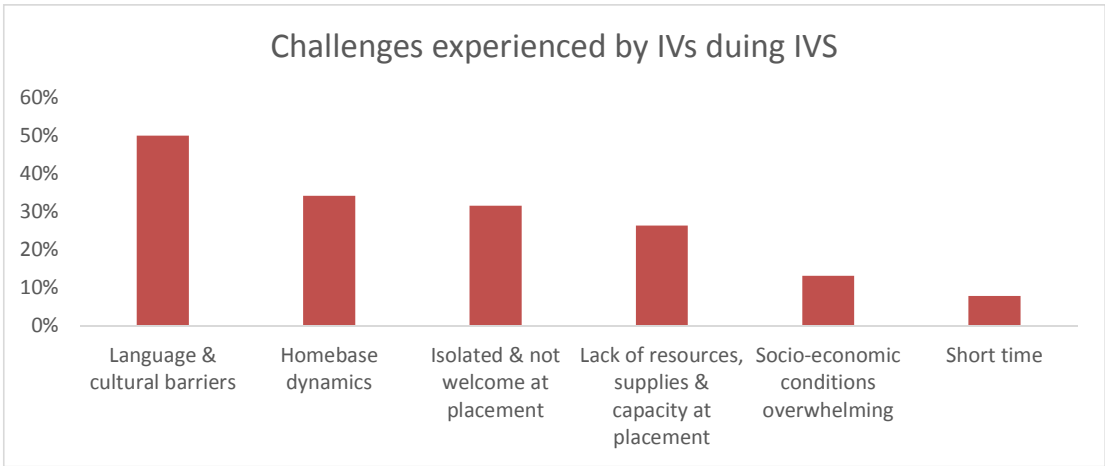


Chart. 11: Challenges experienced by IVs during IVS

Chapter 5: International Volunteers – Understanding of Harm

In considering harm, 6% of all the IVs considered that volunteering was potentially harmful to themselves. Respondents defined this harm as being a result of the emotional stress of volunteering and being exposed to difficult situations or that of being vulnerable to a safety or security threat. Only 31% of volunteers had any pre-conceived understanding of the potential of IVS to create harm. Just under a third of responses revolved around an understanding of causing harm by their presence resulting in ‘dependency’ that would ‘harm’ the LHO when they left at the end of the volunteer period. In short, only 21% of the IVs had an understanding of harm that went beyond this paternalistic notion of creating harm to include more comprehensive (and meaningful) understandings of the potential to generate emotional harm, cultural misunderstandings, and impact on the local labour market, etc.

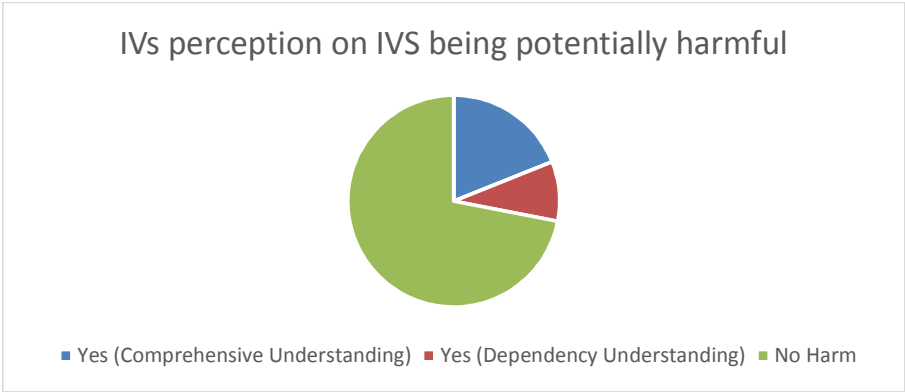


Chart. 12: IVs perceptions on the potential of IVS to be harmful

The 21% of the volunteers who had had a comprehensive understanding of potential harm, beyond that of dependency, defined harm in various ways.

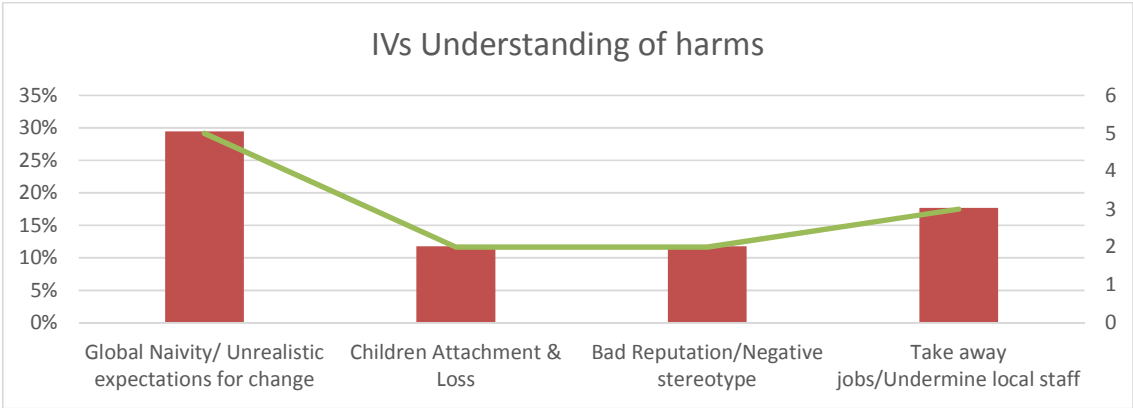


Chart. 13: IVS Potential to do harm

Most of the IVs who considered IVS as being potentially harmful described this in relation to global naivety with volunteers having unrealistic expectations and perceptions, such as: *'perpetuating ideas of white supremacy of them and us. Trying to be the heroes to people who may not want our help is a risk'* and it being *'dangerous as an outsider to assume you know what others need. Even if well intended this can put the organisation in a bad situation'* to that of perpetuating negative stereotypes where *'volunteers can display negative attitudes toward communities'* or *'that of being rude to local staff'*. Fewer volunteers mentioned emotional harm for children, such as: *'working with children one can develop bonds and attachments and then when the volunteer leaves, these are broken, exposing the child to more trauma and deepening their vulnerability'* and also that of taking jobs away or undermining local staff efforts as being harmful.

During the smaller focus group discussion, additional qualitative descriptions of IVS harm were provided, for example: *'the kids we work with, continuously have to see people come and go, there is a lack of consistency and then things just return to the same place'*. Also, that volunteers can *'share incorrect, distorted and or misinformed opinions and judgements'*. The volunteers in the discussion shared their discomfort at what they defined as their volunteer peers viewing children as *'tourist attractions'*. During one particular feedback meeting there was a robust discussion and dialogue on benefits and harms amongst the group, which elicited interesting perspectives on how benefits and harm can be viewed and understood differently, dependent on context.

'Less hands at placements, we are giving lots of attention and when we leave they may expect this from the care givers, I don't know how this will impact'.

'The opposite of this is that I have been able to sit down and work with students who never get individual attention and who really need extra support, but in such a big class it is not possible, I think this was more of a benefit even if it was individual attention being given'.

'Maybe we are creating a false reality which could be more harmful'.

'I just don't want to give up, the more kids that can access affection and attention, the better. Who cares if you do it on your own boot straps or it can be done through more nurturing, even if that is from an outsider, and be it only occasionally. Don't think we must stop trying to nurture, just because of where people live etc. We must keep trying'.

When IVs were asked whether they felt they could potentially be harmful as a volunteer themselves, 15% of IVs agreed that they could potentially be harmful with the percentage dropping to 10% when not counting paternalistic dependency definitions.

The regression analysis in Table 1 explores potential determinants of whether an IV has a reasonably comprehensive or reflective understanding of the potential to do harm (i.e. has an understanding that goes beyond the notion that IVs cause harm by making the LHO dependent on them). The regression model ‘explains’ 31% of the variation in whether IVs have a comprehensive and meaningful understanding of harm or not. It shows that controlling for the other explanatory variables, IV profile characteristic variables, such as, having a degree in the humanities or education field, significantly increased the probability of having a more comprehensive and meaningful understanding of harm by 28%. Volunteering in the child sector and having overtly selfish reasons for volunteering reduced the likelihood of IVs considering IVS to be potentially harmful by 31% and 23% respectively. The implications of these findings are discussed in the concluding section.

SUMMARY OUTPUT

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0,595
R Square	0,357
Adjusted R Square	0,312
Standard Error	0,329
Observations	48

ANOVA

	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Significance F</i>	
Regression	3	2,600	0,867	7,967	0,000	
Residual	43	4,677	0,109			
Total	46	7,277				
	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>Lower 95%</i>	<i>Upper 95%</i>
Intercept	0,531	0,143	3,703	0,001	0,242	0,820
Degree in humanities or education	0,285	0,138	2,064	0,045	0,006	0,563
Volunteering in child sector	-0,318	0,125	-2,5449	0,015	-0,570	-0,066
Overtly selfish reason for volunteering	-0,231	0,104	-2,222	0,0316	-0,440	-0,021

Table. 1: Regression model explains the variation in whether IVs have a comprehensive and meaningful understanding of harm (Excel output).

The findings on IVs understanding of harm suggest that a large percentage of the IVs enrolled in the CCS-SA programme in 2014 were not aware, and had never considered or thought of IVS as being potentially harmful on arrival. From the 31% of IVs that had indicated the potential of harm, 10% provided a naïve understanding with a single definition of harm as a form of dependency where IVs were relied upon to ensure the survival and sustainability of LHOs. This definition was considered to be paternalistic and reflected a particular development discourse that perpetuates stereotypes and myths around 'saving Africa'. As Brown and Hall commented, it is 'naive, presumptuous and arrogant of IVs, who are; ignorant to the local context, are not recruited for their technical skills, do not have the relevant qualification or experience and only offer short-term contributions to consider that they are central to improving the lives and situations of people in the south' (2008, p.845). Harm defined in this way was therefore not considered to be part of a meaningful comprehensive or sophisticated understanding of harm. The 21% of IVs that did demonstrate a more meaningful awareness of the potential to do harm were, however, less inclined to acknowledge that they themselves could possibly cause harm. Only 10% acknowledged and provided descriptions of potential harms through their own IVS participation which indicated that IVs found it difficult and were reluctant to imagine themselves as being potentially responsible for creating harm. The findings in the study concur that IVs are not questioning and are not aware of the potential consequences of their involvement. This supports the Richter and Norman (2010) argument that with better understanding and appreciation of such harms, IVs would be better informed in their decisions and IVS choices.

The limited awareness and consideration of harm held by IVs in the study raised important questions with regard to the preparation, screening and selection of IVs and may contribute to what Simpson (2007) argues in the literature as IVs taking the experience far too lightly, and reducing IVS and development into something 'simple'. Perold et al. (2011) suggests that sending organisations are pressured to satisfy IV client demands and expectations and therefore take 'short cuts' and can become 'negligent' in protecting the 'interests' of communities served. Perold et al. goes on to explain that because sending organisations are reliant on IVs for their revenue, the relationship becomes 'skewed' and highlights how various stakeholders in the IVS experience have different interests, expectations and entry points (ibid, p.4).

This study was able to identify important correlations within the regression analysis that indicated that certain IV characteristics and motivations were linked to IVs having greater or lesser probability in understanding and being aware of potential IVS harms. These findings can make an important contribution to IVS planning, screening and selection criteria for prospective IVs.

International volunteers who were motivated in full or in part to volunteer for selfish reasons (to travel, expand career opportunities or have interesting experiences) were less likely to consider IVS as being potentially harmful. As the majority of IVs in the study shared overtly selfish reasons in wanting to volunteer with only 15% solely motivated to provide service, a broader question arises as to how motivations inform selection and screening of IVs. Whilst selfish motivations are not necessarily harmful, Lewis warns that these may 'privilege the needs and desires of the server over the served, and acts as a powerful framing mechanism for the social construction of ideas about development, poverty and the third world' (2005, p.21).

The study also showed that volunteering in the child assistance sector reduced the likelihood of IVs considering it possible to cause harm and reinforced Richter and Norman's concerns about the dangers of volunteer tourism and children. More than 90% of all IVs enrolled in the CCS-SA program requested and were placed in the child assistance sector, yet only 12% considered the possibility of causing emotional or developmental harms through short-term attachment and abandonment as described by Richter and Norman (2010). It would appear that the desire and interest to work with children amongst IVs, whilst common, is bound up in what Richter and Norman refer to as the continued discourse of 'Southern Africa being represented as a place of deprived institutions caring for orphans, in which volunteers are critical to the sustainability of operations, and therefore the very well-being of young, desperate children' (ibid, p.222). The focus on children and the importance of connection to children was reflected in the flower tool and the feedback meetings where 45% of all IVs, at the end of their programme, described their most memorable experience as connecting with, playing with, teaching or caring for children. As highlighted earlier, increasing criticism is being levelled at the 'voluntourism' industry for its ongoing portrayal of children as victims, advertising sad and desperate stories about children and fuelling what Papi (2012) refers to as 'sympathy tourism'. Richter and Norman (2010) argue for stricter regulations to be placed

on sending organisations that do not screen IVs effectively and continue to attract volunteers through providing exaggerated information on how they can connect and make a difference to children's' lives in a short time.

'Many of the children you'll work with need more positive role models in their lives. You'll provide support to abused, abandoned, or otherwise vulnerable children so they can grow into healthy, happy adults. Prepare kids for a bright future by playing games, serving meals, and giving much needed one-on-one attention and love. You'll be an invaluable role model for local children by offering support to an under-resourced staff' (Cross-Cultural Solutions, 2015).

The above example highlights concerns raised by Richter and Norman (2010) about exaggerated messaging which communicates that 'vulnerable, abused and abandoned' children will be assisted to grow into healthy and happy adults through STIVS. Furthermore, no background or contextual information is provided on why or how children come to be so vulnerable or about the structural inequalities that underpin such complex social problems.

The regression analysis did, however, show that having a degree in the field of humanities or education significantly increased the probability of having an understanding of harm beyond that of a dependency interpretation. It would seem that having undertaken studies in this area exposed some IVs to a broader development discourse and equipped them to question the implications of their IVS involvement, providing them with a deeper, more comprehensive understanding and level of awareness. It may be for this reason that Hartman (2014), in a blog posting, supports student programmes that link international volunteering to academic credit as he argues that this 'ensures that students engage deeply with particularly challenging development questions before, during, and after their direct community engagement experiences' and suggests that: 'facilitated learning clearly enhances intercultural competence and students' dispositions toward respectful engagement in communities'. This was also reflected in my own observation of social work interns who were undertaking a master's degree credit. These students were noticeably more able to articulate potential harms and actively questioned IVS in comparison to their volunteer peers. Given that all IVs had received and been exposed to the same CCS pre arrival information, communication and preparation, it may be argued that it was rather the intern's course curriculum, which

included, reading, academic writing and engagement around development and IVS, that resulted in the observable differences. Crabtree (2008, p.30) suggests that 'joining a conversation among kindred theorists, researchers, and practitioners beyond our disciplinary and national boundaries will surely raise our consciousness and enrich international service learning (ISL) practice'.

Chapter 6: Local Host Organisations

Motivations, benefits and barriers:

All five LHO respondents described IVs benefiting from cultural exchange and having an opportunity to expand their world view through coming to South Africa to volunteer in the community.

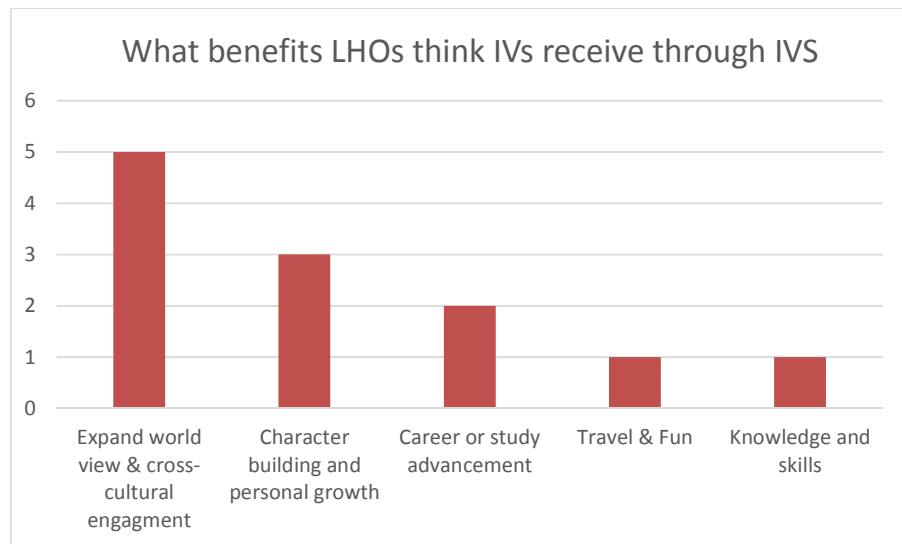


Chart: 14. Benefits from IVS for IVs as described by LHOs

The remaining responses related to providing IVs an opportunity for character building and personal growth, travel and fun as well as advancing career and study opportunities.

'They say it changed their lives, feel better about themselves. The gift we give them is to see and find purpose in life';

'Expansive, opens new horizons, travel. Exposure, fun personal connection, they learn a lot. Big jol¹ for them';

'Experience in the programme expands their world view to see the bigger picture. Benefits they get are curriculum vitae and career advancement as well as a bigger world view'.

¹ Local jargon with the word 'jol' meaning party and good time.

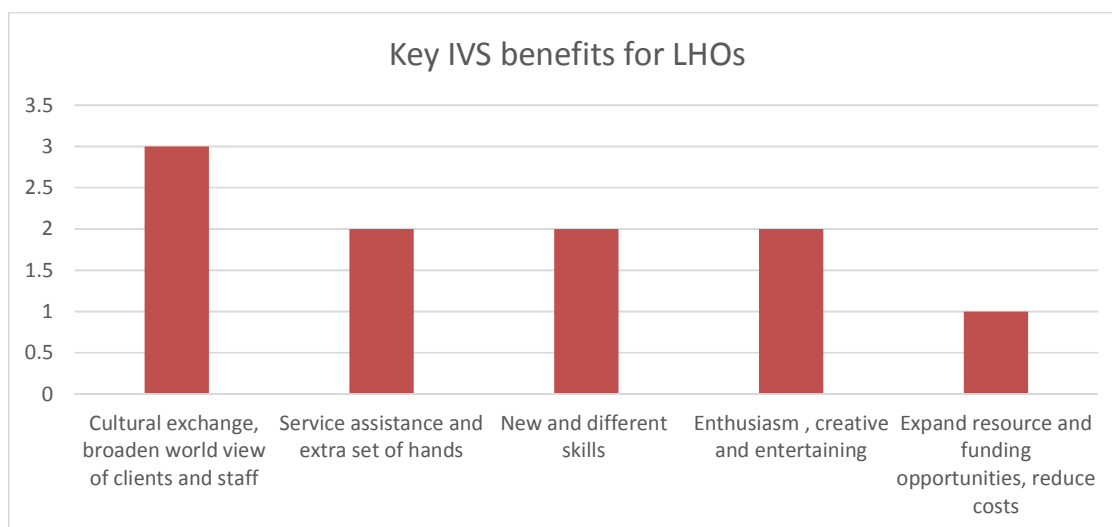


Chart: 15. Benefits gained by LHOs from hosting IVs

Most of the LHO respondents described benefits to staff and clients from being exposed to different cultures, meeting and engaging with people from other places and broadening their world view. Benefits were also described according to helpful assistance with IVs providing an extra set of hands, sharing new skills and creativity whilst expanding opportunities for connection to international networks to secure resources and funding.

'Exchange is great, love that experience of exchange. Travel in and out of their lives and love the exchange of culture. They also see what we do here and go back informed, we expose them to the curriculum, the children and they get a little insight. Opportunity for our children, exposes them to different cultures, races and accents coming in. Expands their world and their world is broadened';

'People coming and going bring fresh ideas and fun. Children's lives go on, volunteers think the children get attached to them but we often do not see this once volunteers have gone, children are used to the volunteers as visitors. They bring light and fun for a short time';

'Educators like it, they learn some skills and meet new people. Volunteers help teachers and can show interest in their lives, hanging out and having informal chats over tea. Some fundraise for us after they leave';

'Volume of work we get through. They help with things that we can't get to do. Fill gaps with project staff and assist us in service delivery. Exposure to other cultures and views. Not really bringing technical add-on value but rather benefit through different and creative energy'.

LHO respondents all agreed that hosting IVs was beneficial to the organisation and that they would continue hosting volunteers, even though they all reported that they consider volunteers to benefit more than LHOs where they were placed. One respondent qualified the response by saying that, over time, she has seen more of a *‘mutual benefit for both the LHO and IV’*.

Challenges and barriers:

The key challenges and barriers experienced by LHOs in hosting IVs was varied, with most referring to IV personalities, attitudes and their inability to adapt and integrate. Half of the LHO respondents also referred to unrealistic expectations and far too short time commitments to the LHO.

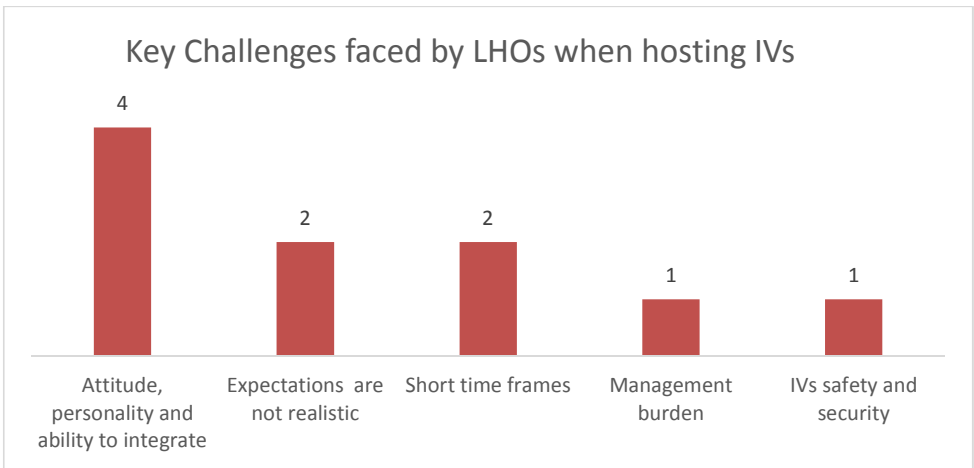


Chart. 16: Challenges faced by LHOs when hosting IVs

In addition, LHOs expressed frustration at IVs always requesting to work directly with children with less interest being shown toward local staff. Respondents at LHOs saw great benefit in IVs being able to share and build relationships with local staff and described valuable opportunities for staff to learn new songs, games and creative activities from working together with IVs.

Understanding of harm:

Despite the generally positive outlook, all the LHO respondents considered IVS to hold potential harm and provided particular examples.

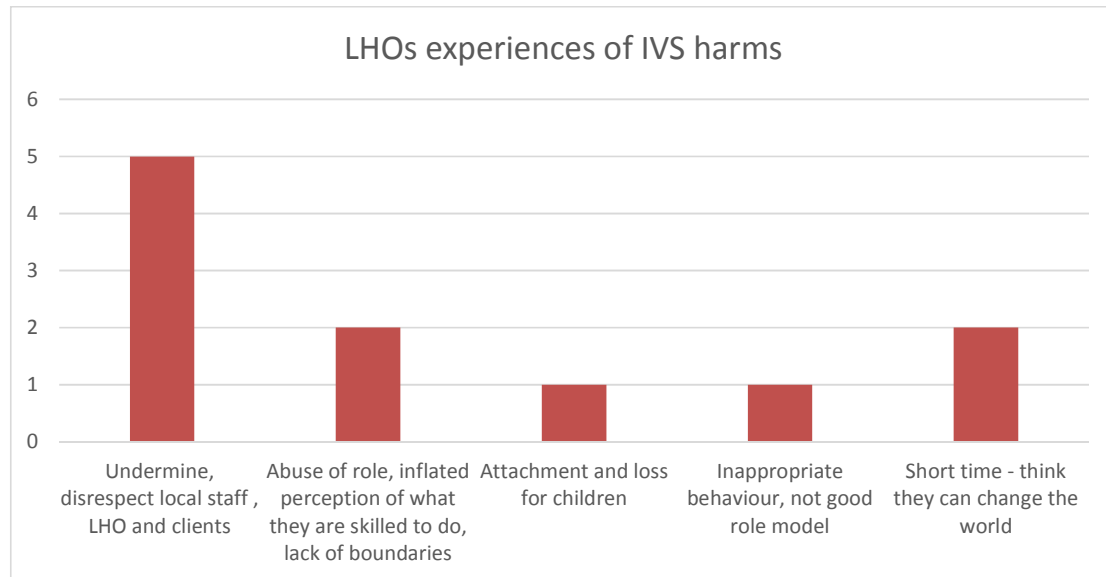


Chart: 17. LHOs experience of IVS harms

The main concern was that IVs can ‘undermine’ the local staff through personality clashes, generating unhappiness, rivalries, etc. One LHO representative complained specifically about an IV who *‘stirred up lots of trouble amongst staff and instigated much unhappiness between staff’*. She also shared that volunteers can be overly critical, giving an example of a volunteer who told a foster mom that her *‘house was filthy’*. The LHO respondent felt that such actions undermined, de-motivated and upset staff and was disrespectful to their role as permanent care givers to households of six children and demonstrated very little appreciation or understanding for their day to day demands.

Respondents from LHOs spoke about challenges regarding IVs expecting the same standard of care to exist in South Africa as in their home country resulting in IVs becoming negative and judgemental. This negative attitude was seen to be demoralising and undermining of local staff efforts, which in turn become burdensome to the organisation.

'I was placed in one room that was dirty, children wore clothes that were worn and re-worn, turned inside out, it was shocking that there were no resources, no books, no toys - these kids who have this illness (even if they did not) it was still shocking. I am still processing this but it is hard. Kids really strived for our attention, wanted to be touched and held. Kids were not being taken care of at all by the staff, it was terrible'.

A volunteer, after her first day in placement reported the above in a feedback meeting.

On the same day the coordinator at the placements sent an email saying that:

'One of the volunteers has been a little bit negative. I understand that it can be overwhelming but I do feel their opinion has been a bit negative. They said to me that they find it shocking, but we are actually one of the better homes and for the need in the country and the area we are in, we are doing the best we can. I'd rather the volunteers talk this through rather than say such things to the other volunteers and staff'.

Another LHO respondent had this to say:

'Volunteers can be detrimental to staff, our history is different, volunteers need to understand their place, cannot pretend race and history don't matter here. Volunteers require a level of sensitivity in that space, they may think they are being helpful when they are not and are arrogant in thinking they have authority and skills to tell local staff what to do, this is inappropriate and insensitive.'

Respondents also described how IVs often held inflated perceptions of what they were skilled to do. Even with limited training or experience, IVs often expected to be allowed to perform professional roles in the LHO, for example:

'People who think that they are psychologists put clients at risk, delving further than they should. This leads to the volunteer over stepping the boundary of volunteer and not respecting their role or place in the organisation. Even when they are trained they lack the necessary local nuances to perform skilled or technical tasks. This is made more difficult as the volunteers are often around for a very short time'.

Short time frames of less than four weeks (for the volunteer service period) emerged as a particular concern and were suggested to be burdensome on staff who were required to provide the same level of orientation and support for all volunteers, irrespective of their time commitment although they received much less helpful support over a short-term period. All LHOs interviewed requested extended volunteer commitments with one respondent feeling that STIVS of less than four weeks was in fact harmful, as it did not provide the necessary time for the volunteer or the organisation to benefit meaningfully and left the entire relationship rather superficial. Interestingly, the IVS time frame in this context was seen to be harmful as it limited the period the volunteer was able to contribute to the LHO; yet it was also considered beneficial in the context of working with children, as it limited the establishment of strong emotional bonds or connections (thereby reducing the danger of the children being traumatised by the departure of the IV).

When describing an experience of potential harm, all LHOs provided some form of mitigating qualifier, for example: *'we don't allow volunteers to be alone with clients and do not permit any volunteer to perform a professional function'*. All the respondents expressed that harm exists at various levels, extending from serious forms such as *'hitting or disciplining children inappropriately'* to far lower levels of harm which were defined more as IVs being a *'burden, nuisance and irritation'* to staff at the LHO. Most of the respondents felt that whilst the potential for harm always exists, it is mostly managed and in cases where they had directly experienced harm, it was not severe or not frequent and was always linked to a particular individual volunteer who was not well suited to IVS. For example, a particular volunteer hosted during the CCS-SA 2014 operational period was highlighted in detail.

'X was different. I would say her behavior could be harmful, as she was not appropriate many times. She was very critical and negative, we were managing lots of wet weather at the time and she kept on telling the staff and even the pupils that it was unhealthy and unhygienic at the school. She was a nurse but seemed very concerned about disease and kept her hands in her pockets a lot of the time to avoid touching anything. She had little experience working with young children, she felt that we should have disciplined the children more and got very upset when they did not want to share toys etc. She did not understand that children this age, especially children from very disadvantaged homes become very attached to certain toys at school and if they get to them first are

not keen to share and may push and shove one other around, as many children do. M complained that this was domestic violence and over exaggerated very small insignificant incidences that occurred during the school day, this required much more work to manage, often having to intervene. I also do not think she got on well with her volunteer peers who appeared frustrated with her. Whilst she was interested and asked lots of questions regarding culture she seemed to avoid doing activities with black children at school and was overly and obviously more attentive to coloured children. She asked inappropriate personal questions to the children and sometimes even to parents bringing their children to school. The children did not like her, when she left, she asked them if they were going to miss her, they said no'.

When a LHO was asked directly about the impact of volunteers coming and going in the pre-school that accommodated both children from the organisations foster care homes, as well as children from the surrounding community, the LHO respondent shared that the *'lightness and fun for short periods of time'* was in fact beneficial and that children were not showing any signs of adjustment problems when volunteers leave, *'they are used to volunteers visiting, playing and coming for a few hours a day for a few weeks and then leaving'*. She expressed that *'whilst volunteers do think this is difficult for the children, it is often the volunteers who have more tears and drama on departure in comparison to the children whose daily lives and routines carry on irrespectively'*. Whilst another LHO respondent also agreed that they have not seen any visible signs of children being distressed when volunteers leave, she was most concerned about disabled children who were unable to communicate, especially as they receive *'more undivided attention from volunteers than their caregivers'* and felt unsure of what impact the volunteers leaving would have after having had a visitor *'read to them and hold their hand every day'*. This respondent also expressed concern that in *'South Africa there are no restrictions on volunteers and whilst the department of social services required a sexual offenses clearance for all those working with children, volunteers were often exempt from this as they were not staff'*. She was also concerned with the screening of volunteers and was the only respondent amongst the LHOs interviewed to mention sexual and physical harm. She commented that CCS volunteers were well selected but that she had on occasion, in the past, experienced volunteers *'reeking of alcohol after partying on the weekend, then falling asleep and not being a positive role model to the youth at the center'*.

All of the LHO respondents described some form of needing to provide supervision and ongoing management of volunteers in that *'we constantly have to manage volunteers who think that they are going to change the world, that is why longer term volunteers are much more beneficial and we only allow much longer term volunteers to assist in the foster homes where we are more cautious and protective and minimize volunteer care giving'*. The respondent was also very clear that *'volunteers may say that they have many skills but often these skills do not translate into action when they are met with the reality on the ground'*. Another LHO respondent referred to it only working if they *'get it'* and defined this as having a *'creative methodology, coming with their own experiences, ability to see what and where they can best fit in, jump in, initiate communication and try to integrate with staff and various project activities'*. She described a recent experience with a CCS-SA volunteer as an example to show the importance of *'personality and attitude'* and how the role of the LHO supervisor is to *'assist and encourage the volunteer to access their inner resources, trust their gut and move away from being driven about achievement but rather to focus on relationship and engagement'*.

'Y, I wondered about her, she was a psychology major, but she did not have the initiative. There was a big gap and disconnect between what she said and what she was able to do. She obviously had skills, was well educated and cognitively understood what was needed but she was totally unable to apply skills. The world of volunteering or serving is not always understood, many times the IVs are living in their head, but are not a good fit. She was unable to communicate, was passive and could not engage or reach out and was not the right personality. This was not helpful, she just looked unhappy and miserable and felt that she was not well received or supported. She was unhappy that she was not provided a position higher than staff as she willingly came from America and was well qualified.'

Given the range of experiences and examples of harm elicited in the study, and whilst these may have differed in nature and degree to those described in the Richter and Norman (2010) study, the potential to do harm remained relevant and was therefore applicable in the context of the CCS model and programme in Cape Town.

Chapter 7: Comparison and Conclusion

Comparison:

Both IVs and LHOs shared similar understandings and identified similar categories of benefit to those described in the literature, such as: 'increasing local capacities' through providing an 'extra set of hands, tangible resources, philanthropy, and social capital' which collectively assist in 'providing new ideas, increasing intercultural competence of staff and clients whilst transferring skills' (Lough et al., 2011, p.126). Varying emphasis was, however, placed on different benefit categories suggesting that IVs and LHOs understood and experienced benefits differently. Initially, on arrival, most IVs described benefits as being helpful, providing energy and enthusiasm. After actively volunteering for a few weeks, IVs considered LHOs to have benefitted mostly from sharing skills and knowledge. In comparison, LHOs did not regard the sharing of skills and knowledge as being beneficial and emphasized simpler tasks relating to fun, energy, and creativity as well as creating opportunities for cross-cultural engagement. All LHOs felt strongly that most IVs were not able to share knowledge or skills and could not provide the LHO technical or specialist value given their short-term commitment and lack of experience as most volunteers were young students. The LHOs emphasised the benefits of cross-cultural engagement more than the IVs, who, whilst interested in learning about and being exposed to other cultures and languages, also experienced such differences as a challenge and barrier.

The difference in emphasis between IVs and LHOs understanding of benefit may highlight a potential disconnect between the needs and IVS benefits, as understood locally by LHOs, to those understood or communicated to prospective IVs. This may, in part, be a result of what the earlier literature describes as sending organisations over-emphasizing development impacts and technical skill contributions made by IVs when LHOs, are in fact, more interested in the benefits of cultural exchange and assistance with simple tasks. The literature suggests that sending organisations are deliberately 'packaging, marketing and selling development-focused altruism' (Vodopivec and Jaffe, 2011, p.113) in an overstated manner to secure commercial advantage within what Richter and Norman (2010, p.223) refer to as a growing and competitive 'voluntourism' market. Such communications may also be linked to why one third of IV respondents in the study held a paternalistic notion that LHOs were reliant and dependent on IV skills and support. This view was not shared by any of the LHOs interviewed

and was not considered in the study as demonstrating a comprehensive or meaningful understanding of IVS harm.

Local host organisations, in the findings, agreed that setting unrealistic expectations for IVs could result in volunteers 'overstepping boundaries' into roles they were not qualified or experienced in, undermining local staff, disrupting daily operations and potentially causing harm. The LHOs described how IVs were then also left 'frustrated' and 'disappointed' as they were not provided the opportunity 'to be the counsellor' or have 'access to confidential case details of the children they had contact with. Palacio (2010) suggests that framing the IVS experience, its value and impact according to cross-cultural learning and relationship-building versus that of service or creating change is helpful, less harmful and more realistic within a short-term period. The study highlighted the need for selection of STIVS to be carefully considered within the context of limited time frames and that an over emphasis on experience, skill and capacity transfer is problematic, unrealistic and potentially harmful.

The majority of IVs in the study reported that benefits that accrue to the volunteer and the LHO are mutual, whilst all LHOs described IVs as benefiting more. Given that IVS is presented as an altruistic contribution to society (Sherraden, 2001) and is according to Lewis (2005) part of international development work that is done in the interest of local beneficiaries, it is interesting that neither the LHOs nor IVs considered LHOs to benefit most. This may suggest that LHO needs and local understanding of how IVs can best add value are not effectively being communicated by IVS sending organisations, with IVs not clearly understanding or being sufficiently prepared to respond to local needs. At the same time, even when LHOs understood IVs to benefit more, they all expressed an interest and desire to continue hosting IVs. This may support the argument that irrespective of the challenges and complexities of IVS, 'doing something is still better than nothing' (Vodopivec and Jaffe, 2011, p.116) and because benefits are understood and experienced differently, they do not need to be similar or equitable in nature to be regarded as valuable.

The majority of IVs in the study had a limited (if any) grasp of the potential to cause harm whereas all LHO representatives were able to provide comprehensive understandings and examples of an actual or potential harmful IVS experience. The low percentage of IVs

demonstrating any meaningful understanding of potential harm in the study highlighted concerns raised by Richter (2010) that IVs are mostly unaware of the potential consequences of their involvement and do not critically question or examine their decision to undertake IVS. This finding supports calls for improved strategies to communicate, inform and prepare prospective IVs on potential harms alongside the more available promotion and focus on IVS benefits (Richer and Norman, 2010).

Harm in this study was defined more broadly and provided descriptions that were subtle, and extended beyond the psychological impacts associated to loss and abandonment as described by Richter and Norman (ibid, p.224). The emerging definitions of harm in this study placed greater emphasis on negative attitudes accompanied by undermining and disrespectful behaviour that could undermine local staff and be disruptive to daily work. Limiting the definition and context of harm to one narrative of emotional trauma through abandonment within residential care settings, as highlighted in the Richter and Norman (2010) study, may result in overly restrictive mitigating strategies that isolate harm to specific incidences or contexts. This may in turn overlook or underplay the many more subtle forms of potential harm that occur across varying contexts and different models of IVS. This study has shown that, whilst the CCS-SA model had put in place certain mitigating policies to restrict contact periods and did not permit IVs to undertake central caregiving roles, harms were not avoided but described, understood and experienced differently.

A focus on children emerged strongly in the study with the vast majority of IVs requesting to serve children with many highlighting their involvement with children as being the most memorable and significant experience. Many of the LHOs however expressed frustration at IVs interest in only wanting to serve and work with children and felt that this restricted opportunities to build relationships with local staff. This was well captured by one IV who said:

'I learnt more about the children through learning about their teacher. Their teacher wakes up at 4 am in morning, she is looking after six children on her own. Just hearing her and other stories, putting that into perspective. Talking to the teachers was really helpful and I had really beautiful and personal conversations with the teachers, we shared our struggles and hopes for the future, which I think was beneficial to them too'.

This study has shown that IVs who are particularly keen and determined to work with children are also less likely to have an understanding on potential harms in IVS and apply limited or no consideration to the possible negative implications of their involvement. This finding corresponded to concerns held by Richter and Norman (2010) on IVs being permitted to work with children. Utilising the Max Neef (1991) theoretical framework, Richter and Norman (2010) would argue that IVS is a disguised benefit, as IVs are presented as helping 'AIDS orphans', whilst actually satisfying their own personal needs for identity and purpose. This violates the rights of children to regular and consistent care giving, becoming a pseudo-satisfier that may cause emotional and psychological harm. The strong desire on the part of IVs to work with children is being fuelled by what Meintjies and Geise (2006) argue is the continued portrayal of the African child as poor, black, HIV positive and aid dependent. As discussed earlier, Richter and Norman (2010) maintain that IVS sending organisations capitalize on such images to garner volunteer sympathies to generate demand and economic benefit for the 'voluntourism' industry.

Amongst IVs, there were very few who raised specific concerns about working with children, whilst all LHOs felt that IVs were primarily short-term, playful visitors and that the children were not faced with the same emotional distress due to attachment and loss of volunteer caregivers as described by Richter and Norman (2010). The example below demonstrates the complexity and responsibilities relevant to any IVS engagement, irrespective of the nature of the engagement, or the role of the IV and duration of this relationship. Whilst the intensity and degree of psychological impact may differ; sensitivity, awareness and understanding is vital, as the potential to do harm applies across different contexts.

'We walked in and the class saw us and shouted there are white people here, these kids were so excited to see white people. They told us there are no white people here, only brown and caramel. Rare that there is white people, and they just loved X's blonde hair'. X then went on to say that; 'One kid had blonde hair and blue eyes, I could see she was so happy, like oh, there is someone who looks like me'. Another volunteer then added; 'no, I don't think she was white, I think she was mixed'. The same volunteer then excitedly explained how 'the girls loved brushing our hair during break, they just wanted to touch our hair, and they said they loved straight and blonde hair. They really they liked us, and it seemed as if they had never touched a white person'.

This interaction highlights how cross-cultural engagement provides important opportunities and benefits for engagement and exposure for children to what they may understand to be 'different' or 'other'. Such exposure and interaction may go some way to breaking down barriers, and may offer a better framework to contextualize STIVS as suggested by Palacios (2010). However short interactions and engagements such as these, and the meanings ascribed, are subjectively experienced and may impact in different ways. The opportunity to promote a positive self-image for the school children in the above example was possibly lost when IVs accepted the attentions and admiration from the children without any consideration to the local history or structural arrangements that may have created such a response. The IVs did not see the importance or the opportunity to reciprocate interest or affirm the childrens' hair and appearance. This engagement highlights how history, culture and identity are interrelated and how a simple and seemingly innocent interaction holds significance and can influence how dominant cultures and associated stereotypes are either reaffirmed or challenged (Mostafanezhad, 2014).

Likewise, during a small focus group discussion, one of the longest serving volunteers felt strongly about the attitudes and behaviours of IVs and described how volunteers may *'show interest in other cultures, and believe they are being helpful and doing good'*. This is what Giddens (1999) refers to as a growing interest in service, civic culture and global citizenship. Yet, at the same time, the volunteer felt that this can also become harmful when *'children become a tourist attraction to volunteers who feel entitled to share their personal stories and show pretty pictures on facebook or instagram because they paid for the experience'*. This suggests that whilst the IV may be interested in another culture, the engagement is premised on expanding their own self-interest. The volunteer respondent recognised the impact of unequal power relations and shared that IVs can also *'abuse their position and distort and perpetuate particular negative images of children in Africa to feel good about themselves'*.

These scenarios highlight the interrelationship between benefit and harm, as described in Max Neef's (1991) theoretical framework. The action of providing charity and service can both satisfy the IVs own desire to feel needed, and the needs of the LHO who are provided a helping hand. Yet, such satisfiers can become pseudo satisfiers and violators if such actions reinforce negative stereotypes, exploit children or undermine local caregiving practises. Lewis (2005)

highlights how IVS can play an effective role in shaping new thinking by helping to 'humanise' globalisation, but suggests that power imbalances of the volunteer as the benevolent giver and LHOs as grateful recipients of charity must be challenged through increased awareness and exposure. Perold et al. suggests that this area requires more research in order to determine the impacts of 'inter-political and inter-economic learning' (2011, p.14). This would provide a broader understanding of the global structures and drivers of inequality and would motivate IVs to become more active in 'development education and advocacy' once they return home (ibid). Papi (2012) highlights that moving away from 'voluntourism' and 'service learning' to that of 'learning service' with a focus on development education is more helpful. In applying this framework, volunteers are encouraged to learn more about the 'complexity of development' versus 'saving the world' (Papi, 2012). They would be more aware of possible harms and be less likely to reinforce negative stereotypes or exploit the IVS relationship.

The negative harm of replacing local staff was not specifically mentioned by LHOs. Nor was it mentioned as a significant concern by IVs. It could, however, be argued by Richter and Norman that the descriptions by LHOs, such as 'filling a gap' and 'providing more hands' are subtle forms of restricting employment opportunities (2010, p.223). International volunteer sending organisations, such as CCS argue that their model contributes to the growth of local economies, as their programme fee 'supports the provision of reliable, fair market wages and benefits to in-country staff members, all from the local community'. Additionally, 'all accommodation, transportation, food and volunteering resources are procured locally' (Cross-Cultural Solutions, 2010, 18). Morgan (2014), as cited by UNWTO (2006) in an online newsletter, suggests that IVS offers a 'primary source of foreign exchange amongst the least developed countries'. Mustafanezhad (2014) challenges these presentations of economic benefit as nothing more than the commodification of altruism under the auspices of development to expand self-interest and neoliberalism. Richter and Norman (2010) note the exorbitant fee charges made by IVS sending organisations and question the percentage of this income reaching in-country operations and local communities. In the context of benefit and harm, it can be argued that the private sector and sending organisations are 'co-opting and exploiting the non-profit or public sector' (Snyder and Omoto, 2008, p.27) for gain. At the same time, they offer opportunities where 'mixing private and public sector responses in a co-operative manner can maximize benefits for all' (ibid).

Beyond the benefits of IVS, already described in the study, IVS may also give insights into local practices and provide helpful indicators in monitoring and improving quality services for LHOs. Local host organisations within the study, did not specifically mention this as a benefit and considered that critical feedback was unhelpful and occasionally harmful. It was felt that this undermined local staff and their efforts, and was a result of the IVs being unwilling to manage their personal discomfort at the differing standards of care they experienced. It can be argued that such responses from LHOs restricted effective learning opportunities where both IVs and LHOs could discuss their differing perceptions and standards. A more honest and open dialogue would offer opportunities for transformational growth and learning for both LHO staff and volunteers. In the study, all LHO representatives mentioned that IVs were rarely left alone and were not responsible for children or clients. Yet, the majority of volunteers spoke about being left alone with children for long periods of time and occasionally also mentioned local staff being disinterested, or at times resorting to verbal or physical punishment of children. In an earlier example, taken from a feedback meeting, one of the IVs shared that: *'the place was only cleaned and children were only given clean clothes on days the social worker arrived'*. It may be argued that the negative judgement and critical feedback was hurtful to staff and undermined the LHO. At the same time, the IV raised a valid concern regarding the quality of service and care provided, which the LHO management chose to ignore and understand as an overreaction from an insensitive volunteer. According to Graham et al., 'the lack of constructive engagement' between LHOs host and sending organisations serves as a 'serious constraint' (2011, p.21). 'Communication deficits, the limited nature of intercultural learning, and the difficulties host organisations face in strategically using the volunteers are constraining the full utilisation of the possibilities embedded within international voluntary service experiences' (ibid).

The nexus of benefit and harm offers a forum for tension and disruption, whilst also facilitating opportunities for transformation, growth and progressive change. The boundary between benefit and harm is deeply contextual, where some factors with the greatest potential for harm, may also be of potential benefit. Recommendations made by Graham et al., from a study on host organisations perspectives in Mozambique and Tanzania, mentions that 'inequalities that prevail in global relations will manifest in micro level interactions

between volunteers and host organisations, and any attempts to deny or push these aside will minimize the transformative potential within the IVS relationship' (2011, p.20). What may be helpful, in this context, is to consider how to balance corresponding and co-existing benefits and harms with the understanding that they are not separate and disconnected entities. Benefits and harms require equal consideration, consistent management and monitoring of how they co-exist and manifest differently and subjectively amongst stakeholders in various contexts.

The study highlights the need for facilitated edification of benefits and harms by prospective and enrolled volunteers to improve their awareness and understanding of such. The study supports the view of Raymond (2008) that emphasis needs to be placed on the selection of those volunteers who are able to critically examine the broader developmental issues pertaining to IVS. Special consideration and possible regulation must be introduced for IVs working with children to ensure that they are provided insight into the 'potential consequences of their involvement' and are 'given guidance on how to manage relations to minimise negative outcomes for young children' (Richter, 2010, p.13). Careful programme structuring, coupled with social-justice education, is therefore an important prerequisite to consider when establishing an IVS relationship (Simpson, 2004; Jones, 2005).

Concluding summary:

This study contributes to the body of research and literature interested in understanding the impacts, implications and benefits of different IVS models. The study focussed on exploring harm in IVS, in response to the fact that this factor is not covered to the same degree as benefits in the available literature. The study explored how benefits and harms in STIVS are understood and experienced by both IVs and LHOs and whether they shared similar concerns to those identified in the Richter and Norman (2010) study. The case study utilised CCS-SA as the study site, integrating fieldwork into the existing operational, monitoring and evaluation activities of their IV programme. A problem-driven approach, utilising mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative), provided data from survey questionnaires, interviews, and group meetings.

A key finding was that 79% of IVs did not believe that IVS could cause any harm. Significantly fewer IVs (21%) had a comprehensive understanding of harm beyond that of 'creating dependency' in LHOs. Having a degree in the field of humanities or education, increased the probability of IVs having an understanding of harm by 28%. The factor of being motivated by selfish reasons reduced this understanding by 23%. Volunteering in the child care sector also reduced the probability of having an understanding of harm by 31%. Whilst the CCS model is different to that described in the Richter and Norman (2010) study, the potential to do harm remained relevant. The descriptions and degrees of harm provided by IVs and LHOs differed and extended beyond the harmful psychological impacts described in the Richter and Norman, suggesting that a broader and more expansive understanding of harm should be considered.

In the context of STIVS models, benefits and harms are interwoven in different ways along a continuum of co-existence and are therefore relational and context-specific. Informing and preparing key stakeholders about, as well as, managing the co-existence, ongoing tension and inter-relationship of benefit and harm can be more helpful than managing these factors in isolation, or in response to particular incidents. In addition, the evidence suggests that certain IV characteristics, such as: qualification type, motivation to volunteer and sector of interest, relate to levels of awareness and understanding and therefore provide guidance on recruitment and selection criteria. Facilitated learning, with critical questioning and examination of IVS as part of development and social justice pedagogy, can play an important role in enhancing intercultural competence and respectful and less harmful IV engagement in communities (Hartman, 2014). Tapline, Dredge and Scherrer, highlight the need for improved monitoring and evaluations systems, and the development and application of practical tools that measure a variety of impact indicators across different IVS programmes (2014, p.899). The findings in this case study provide important considerations for improved accountability in IVS and contribute towards the development of IVS models, guidelines and regulations. Finally, this study highlights the need for further empirical research into untangling the coexistence of benefit and harm in the IVS sector.

References

- Aljazeera. (2012) *People & Power – Cambodia's Orphan Business*. [Online]
Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-hf_snNO9X8>. [Accessed: 4th
April 2014].
- Amalric, F. (2000) Challenges in the governance of North-South solidarity in the age of
globalization. *Development*. 43 (4). p. 6-10.
- Beckers, U., & Sieveking, K. (2001). *European voluntary service for the young people: An introduction
to the present debate*. In K. Sieveking (Ed.), *European voluntary service for the young people:
questions of status and problems of legal policy* (pp. 39–53). Berlin, Germany: Peter Lang.
- Birrell, I. (2010) Before you pay to volunteer abroad, think of the harm you might do.
The Observer. [Online] Available from:
<[http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/nov/14/orphans-cambodia-
aids-holidays-madonna](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/nov/14/orphans-cambodia-aids-holidays-madonna)>. [Accessed: 6th March 2015].
- Brown, F. & Hall, D. (2008) Tourism and development in the Global South: The issues. *Third
World Quarterly*. 29 (5). p. 839-849.
- Callanan, M. and Thomas, S. (2005) *Volunteer tourism: Deconstructing volunteer activities
within a dynamic environment*. In Novelli, M. (Ed) (2005) *Niche Tourism:
Contemporary issues, trends and cases*. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Caprara, D., Quigley, K.F.F. and Rieffel, L. (2009) *International volunteer service: A smart
way to build bridges – Recommendations on how to enhance U.S. volunteer efforts*.
[Online]. Available from:
<[http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2009/6/volunteering-
caprara/06_volunteering_caprara.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2009/6/volunteering-caprara/06_volunteering_caprara.pdf)>. [Accessed: 15 March 2015].

- Clemmons, D. (2015) Voluntourism Reform: Why Is The UK Leading The Charge? *Voluntourism* 2015. [Online].
Available from: < <http://www.voluntourism.org/news-feature293.htm>>. [Accessed: 2 April 2015].
- Crabtree, R.D. (2008) Theoretical Foundations for International Service-Learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*. P.18-36. [online].
Available from: <<http://nfjcl.depaul.edu/Resources/Crabtree%20theoretical-foundations-for-international-service-learning.pdf>>. [Accessed: 28 December 2014]
- Cross-Cultural Solutions. (2010) Impact Assessment: The impact and effectiveness of Cross-Cultural Solutions programmes worldwide. New York.
- Cross-Cultural Solutions. (2012) Overview of South Africa, New York, USA.
- Cross-Cultural Solutions. (2015) *Discover what you can do*. [Online] Available from:<<http://www.crossculturalsolutions.org/discover-what-you-can-do/volunteer-opportunities#the-ccs-child-development-project>>. [Accessed: 29 June 2015].
- Devereux, P. (2008) International volunteering for development and sustainability: Outdated paternalism or a radical response to globalisation. *Development in Practice*. 18 (3). p.357–370.
- Devereux, P. (2010) *International volunteers: Cheap help or transformational solidarity toward sustainable development*. (Unpublished doctoral thesis). Murdoch University, Perth, Australia.
- Diprose, K. (2012) Critical distance: Doing development education through international volunteering. *Area*. 44 (2). p.186-192.
- Escobar, A. (1991) Anthropology and the development encounter: The making and marketing of development anthropology. *American Ethnologist*. 18 (4). p.658–682.

- Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin Books.
- Ge, X. & Land, S. M. (2003) Scaffolding students' problem solving processes in an ill-structured task using question prompts and peer interactions. *Educational Technology Research and Development*. 51 (1). p.21–38.
- Giddens, A. (1999) *Runaway world: how globalization is reshaping our lives*. London: Profile Books.
- Graham, L. A., Mavungu, L., Perold, H., Cronin, K., Muchemwa, L., & Lough, B. (2011) *International Volunteers and the Development of Host Organisations in Africa: Lessons from Tanzania and Mozambique*. In South African German Network (SAGE Net) Deutschland (2011) *International Volunteering in Southern Africa: Potential for change? Insights emerging from young German volunteers and host organisations in South Africa, Tanzania and Mozambique*. Fischer J (ed.) (2011) *Interdisciplinary Studies on Volunteer Services*. Volume 2. Bonn: Scientia Bonnensis.
- Guttentag, D. A. (2009) The Possible Negative Impacts of Volunteer Tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. 11 (6). p. 537-551.
- Hanson, L. (2010) Global citizenship, global health, and the inter-nationalization of curriculum: A study of transformative potential. *Journal of Studies in International Education*. 14. p.70–88.
- Hartman, E. (2014) Global service learning. 28 August 2014. *What ARE we talking about? Poverty Porn, Volunteer Service & Global Service-Learning: Blog*. [Online] Available from: <<http://globalsl.org/what-are-we-talking-about-poverty-porn-volunteer-service-global-service-learning>>. [Accessed: 28 June 2015].
- Hartman, E. (2014) Global Citizen. 5 September 2014. *Why UNICEF and Save the Children are Against Your Short-Term Service in Orphanages: Blog*. [Online] Available from: <<http://globalsl.org/why-unicef-and-save-the-children-are-against-you-caring-for-orphans/>>. [Accessed: 22 February 2015].

- Holloway, I. & Wheeler, S. (1996) *Qualitative Research for Nurses*. Oxford: Blackwell Science.
- Jones, A. (2004) *Review of gap year provision*. University of London: Department for Education and Skills.
- Lewis, D. (2005) *Globalisation and international service: a development perspective*, London School of Economics: Department of Social Policy.
- Lewis, D. (2005) Globalisation and international service: a development perspective. 7 (2). p. 13-26. [Online]
Available from: <<http://personal.lse.ac.uk/lewisd/images/Volunteering%20-%20Vol%20Action%2006.pdf/>>. [Accessed on 14 March 2015]
- Lough, B., McBride, M. and Sherraden, S. (2009) *Perceived Effects of International Volunteering: Reports from Alumni*. Washington University: Centre for Social Development.
- Lough, B.J., McBride, A.M., Sherraden, M.S. and O'Hara, K. (2011) Capacity building contributions of short-term international volunteers. *Journal of Community Practice*, 19(2). p.120-137.
- Max-Neef, M. (1991) *Human Scale Development. Conception, Application and Further Reflection*. New York and London: The Apex Press.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014) *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Meintjies, H. & Giese, S. (2006) Spinning the epidemic: The making of mythologies of orphanhood in the context of AIDS. *Childhood*. 13. p.407–430.

- Mostafanezhad, M. (2014) *Volunteer Tourism: Popular Humanitarianism in Neoliberal Times*. London: Ashgate.
- Morgan, J (2014), Volunteer tourism: What are the benefits for international development? Overseas Development Initiative. [Online]
Available from: <<http://www.voluntourism.org/news-studyandresearch62.htm>>.
[Accessed: 15 March 2015].
- Neuman, W. L. (1997) *Qualitative Research Design in Social Research Methods*. 3rd ed. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Mohamud, O. (2013) *Ossob Mohamud for Africa on the Blog, part of the Guardian Africa Network*. [Online] 13 February 2013.
Available from: <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/13/beware-voluntourists-doing-good>>. [Accessed: 19 June 2014].
- Palacios, C, M. (2010) Volunteer tourism, development and education in a postcolonial world: Conceiving global connections beyond aid. *Journal of sustainable tourism*. 18 (7). p.861-878.
- Papi, D. (2012) *What's wrong with volunteer travel?: Daniela Papi at TEDx Oxbridge*, video, 15 August, viewed 28 June 2015,
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oYWI6Wz2NB8&feature=youtu.be&t=13&normalized_direct=1>.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002) *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd Ed). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

- Perold, H., Mavungu, E.M., Cronin, K., Graham, L., Muchemwa, L. & Lough, B.J. (2011) Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa (VOSESA), International voluntary service in Southern African Development Community: Host organisation perspectives from Mozambique and Tanzania, VOSESA, Johannesburg, viewed 12 February 2015. <<http://www.vosesa.org.za/reports/111108%20VOSESA%20IVS%20report%20final.pdf>>.
- Raymond, E. (2008) Make a difference! The role of sending organizations in volunteer tourism. In. Lyons, K.D. and Wearing, S. (eds.). *Journeys of Discovery in Volunteer Tourism: International Case Study Perspectives*. Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing.
- Richter, L. and Norman, A. (2010) AIDS orphan tourism: A threat to young children in residential care. *Vulnerable Children and Youth Studies*. 5(3). p.217-229.
- Richter, L. (2010) 'Do-Gooders Can Actually Do Immense Harm', The Cape Times. 22 September, p. 13.
- Sen, A. (1999) Global justice, beyond international equity. In Kaul, I., Grunberg, I. and M. Stern (eds.). *Global public goods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sherraden, M. S. (2001) Developing transnational social policy: A North American community service program. *Social Development Issues*. 23(3). p.50–59.
- Sherraden, M. S., Lough, B. J. and McBride, A. M. (2008) Effects of international volunteering and service: Individual and institutional predictors. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*. 19. p.395-421.
- Simpson, K. (2004) Doing development: The gap year, volunteer-tourists and a popular practice of development. *Journal of International Development*. 16. p.681–692.
- Simpson, K. (2007) 'Is voluntourism doing any good? No!', *Wanderlust Travel Magazine*, Issue 88, June/July 2007. [Online] Available from: <http://www.wanderlust.co.uk/article.php?page_id=88> [Accessed 20 March 2015].

- Snyder, M. and Omoto, A. M. (2008) Volunteerism: Social Issues Perspectives and Social Policy Implications. *Social Issues and Policy Review*. 2. p.1–36.
- Taplin, J., Dredge, D. and Scherrer, P. (2014) Monitoring and evaluating volunteer tourism: A review and analytical framework. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. 22 (6). p.874-897.
- The Global Citizen (2015), *Volunteering abroad: what's the harm in that?* [Online]
Available from: <<http://www.globalcitizen.org/Content/Content.aspx?id=501d943f-4382-49fa-b671-cbdaea6ac302>>. [Accessed 30 January 2015].
- UNWTO United Nations World Tourism Organisation. (2006) 'Tourism and least developed countries' A sustainable opportunity to reduce poverty'. Madrid.
- Vodopivec, B and Jaffe, R. (2011) Save the World in a Week: Volunteer Tourism, Development and Difference. *European Journal of Development Research*. 23. (1). p.111-128.
- Voelkl, H.T (2012) *Developing an understanding of the experience of the children with international short-term volunteer tourists – a case study in an orphanage project in Ghana*. Dissertation, Brunel University.
- Wearing, S. (2001) *Volunteer Tourism: Experiences that make a difference*. Wallingford: CABI publishing.

Appendices

Appendix A: Survey Questionnaire for Arriving International Volunteers

(Volunteers enrolled in the Cross-Cultural Solutions South Africa programme between the 27th May and 31st August 2014)

1. What is your age?	_____
2. What is your gender?	<input type="radio"/> Female <input type="radio"/> Male
3. Which country are you from?	_____
4. How many weeks are you enrolled with the Cross-Cultural Solutions programme in South Africa?	_____
5. Are you currently a	<input type="radio"/> Student <input type="radio"/> Gap Year – in between things <input type="radio"/> Working <input type="radio"/> Retired <input type="radio"/> Other (please explain)
6. If you are currently a student, please complete your area of study.	<input type="radio"/> Degree majoring in: _____ <input type="radio"/> Diploma in: _____
7. Do you have a post school qualification not mentioned above (7)?	<input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No If so, please provide the highest qualification obtained? _____
8. Are you currently working?	<input type="radio"/> Yes <input type="radio"/> No
9. If working, what is the main focus of your work and career?	_____
10. What sector will you be doing volunteer service in?	<input type="radio"/> Taking care of children – preschool <input type="radio"/> Teaching children – school <input type="radio"/> Working with disability <input type="radio"/> Working with HIV <input type="radio"/> Working with women <input type="radio"/> Working with the elderly <input type="radio"/> Working in health

11. Why did you select this sector?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
12. What is your key motivation to volunteer and why have you chosen to volunteer in South Africa, Cape Town?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
13. How do you think you might benefit personally from providing international volunteer service?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
14. Do you think that providing international volunteer service might harm you in any way?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Please explain: <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
15. What benefits do you hope to provide to the organisation you will be placed with?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
16. Have you ever considered or thought that international volunteering might harm local organisations or their beneficiaries in any way?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
If yes to the above (16): 17. What possible harms do you think could be caused by volunteers for the local organisation and beneficiaries they work with? (please list)	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
18. Have you ever considered that your own volunteering in Cape Town might cause harm?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Explain briefly: <hr/> <hr/>
If you listed possible harms above: 19. What are your thoughts or ideas on how such harm could be avoided?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
20. Who do you think benefits most in the international volunteer relationship? <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteer <input type="checkbox"/> Local host placement organisation <input type="checkbox"/> Both	Explain briefly: <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>

Consent Form for International Volunteer

Dear Volunteer

This study is a problem driven case study exploring the understanding of benefits and harm in short-term international volunteer service utilising the Cross-Cultural Solutions Cape Town programme as a particular example and case study. The study explores the understanding, perceptions and concerns that key staff contacts at participating local host partner organisations, as well as enrolled international volunteers have on the benefits and harms of short-term international service. This study will involve the completion of an initial questionnaire and participation in regular CCS orientation, feedback and reflection meetings. The purpose is to strengthen the partnership between Cross-Cultural solutions, participating local host partner organisations and international volunteers in better informing international volunteer service understanding and practise.

Participation is completely voluntary.

You are free not to participate.

You are free to not answer any questions you find intrusive.

Data will be strictly confidential and used solely for the purpose of this study.

You are not required to provide personal details such as your name.

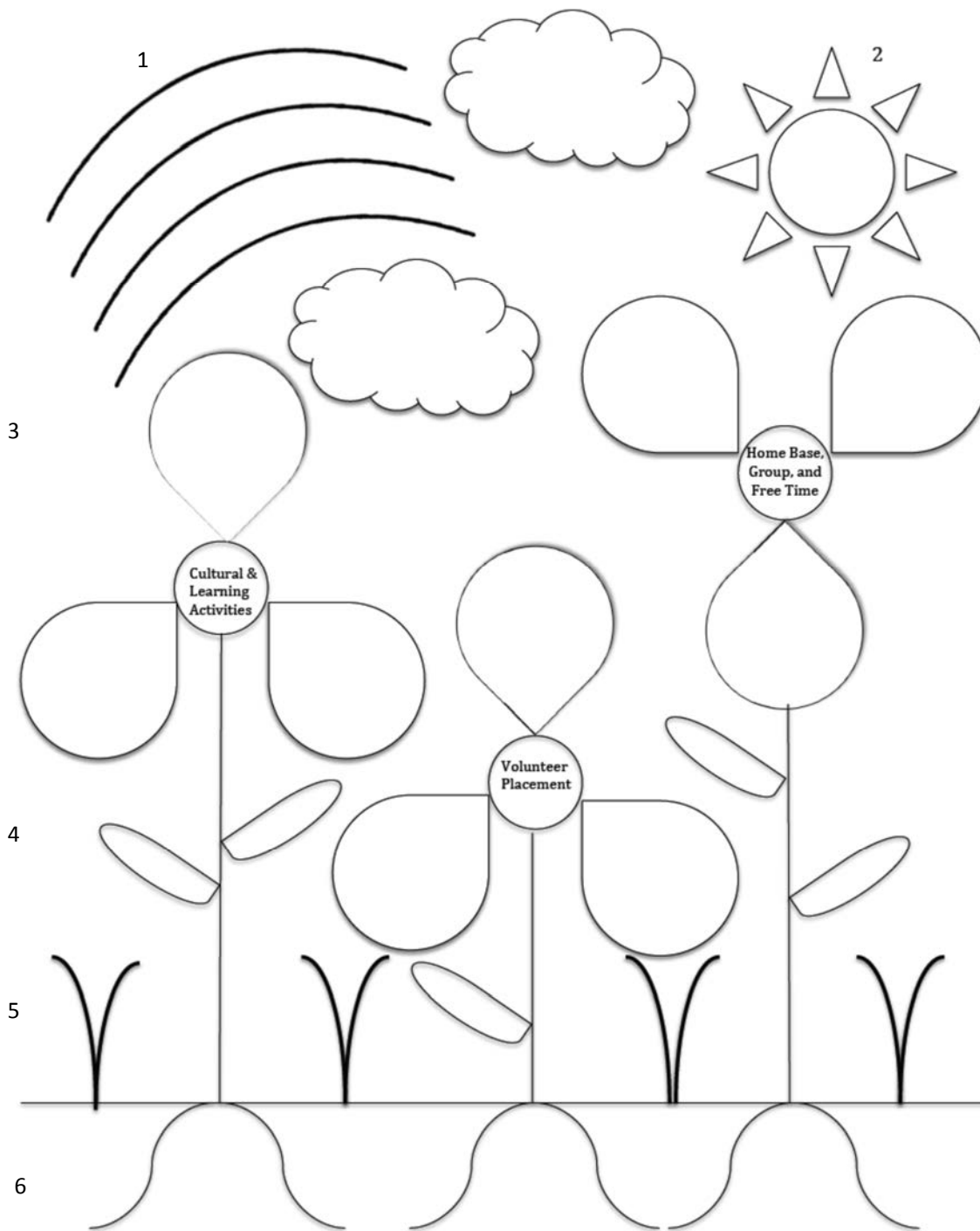
Participation in completing the questionnaire after your orientation meeting will take about 20 minutes and participating in the orientation meeting will take 45-60 minutes.

I agree to participate in this study

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix B: Flower Tool



This exercise is meant to help you reflect on your programme:

1. Rainbow & Clouds: Benefits you have gained/take away from this experience
2. Sun: One thing/Key moment that stands out most
3. Flower Petals: Key personal Learnings
4. Leaves: Key obstacles & challenges
5. Grass: How did your placement benefit from your service
6. Roots: What/Who was your strongest support in this experience

Appendix C: Interview schedule for Local Host Organisations

1. Name of Interviewee?	
2. Name of Organisation?	
3. Position at Organization?	
4. For how long has your organisation been receiving CCS international volunteers	_____
5. What sector of service does your organization support?	<input type="checkbox"/> Taking care of children - preschool) <input type="checkbox"/> Teaching children - school <input type="checkbox"/> Working with disability <input type="checkbox"/> Working with HIV <input type="checkbox"/> Working with women <input type="checkbox"/> Working with the elderly <input type="checkbox"/> Working in health
6. What is your key motivation to hosting international volunteers?	_____ _____ _____
7. What are the key benefits for your organisation in hosting international volunteers? (give some examples)	_____ _____ _____ _____ _____
8. What are the key challenges or difficulties you have when hosting international volunteers?	_____ _____ _____ _____
9. Do you think there are potential harms that may <u>have impact on your organisation, staff or clients</u> through hosting international volunteers?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No Please explain further if Yes to what these possible risks or harms may be? _____ _____ _____ _____
10. If yes to the above, can you give a concrete example of where you have experienced this and or where you may have seen harm done through a CCS or other international volunteer?	_____ _____ _____ _____

11. How do you, as an organisation mitigate any harm that a volunteer may cause?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
12. What are ways that sending organisations, such as CCS can better mitigate potential harms in international volunteer service?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
13. What benefits do you think volunteers receive from volunteering at your placement and or generally from the international volunteer service experience?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
14. Who do you think benefits most in the international volunteer relationship? <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteer <input type="checkbox"/> Local host placement organization <input type="checkbox"/> Both	Explain briefly: <hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
15. Open discussion on current volunteer/s CCS - general Overall, was this a positive, helpful volunteer service experience? Yes / No Strengths: Key contributions: What could be improved: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volunteer/s • CCS) <u>Why</u> did this work well/or not work well? <i>Explore underlying drivers for success/failure</i>	

Consent Form for Local Host Partner Organisation

About this research

This study is a problem driven case study exploring the understanding of benefits and harm in short-term international volunteer service utilising the Cross-Cultural Solutions Cape Town programme as a particular example and case study. The study explores the understanding, perceptions and concerns that key staff contacts at participating local host partner organisations, as well as enrolled international volunteers have on the benefits and harms within short-term international service. The purpose is to strengthen the partnership between Cross-Cultural solutions, participating local host partner organisations and international volunteers with the aim of informing understanding and practise.

Participation is completely voluntary.

You are free to not answer any questions you find intrusive.

Data will be strictly confidential and used solely for the purpose of this study.

You are not required to provide personal details such as your name and or organisational name.

Participation in this interview takes about 60 minutes.

I agree to participate in this study

Signature: _____

Date: _____